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A seminar focused on the role of the land grant universities in an emergent and largely urban society. Papers were presented on: information needs of an urbanizing post-industrial society; minimum necessary elements to enable the university to meet the challenge; overcoming the constraints of the present university system; the role of the universities; strategies for involving the public; and strategic choices confronting the university. After seminar "second thoughts" included a discussion of the role of the university as a resource not as an activist; of the turbulence of society caused by group politics, the failure of political control, and the malfunctioning of public opinion; of the need for colleges of agriculture to add a major human resource emphasis and become in effect Colleges of Rural-Urban Environments; and of the concept of the community as the client, which may provide for extension a base for a new blend of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research, teaching, and off-campus work. This can make the modern university and its public services more relevant to the problems of contemporary society. (se)

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Role of the Universities in Social Innovation

CAED Report 33

Report of a Seminar on the
University and the Transformation
of Social and Political Institutions
Chicago, Ill. October 15-16, 1968

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AC 004 474

FOREWORD

Why is not progress smooth and pleasant, satisfying and just for everyone? Knowing that it is not after a massive dose of it this past 150 years we should ask, why not? No simple answer exists and so we search for understanding of the complex.

A striking fact of history is that men with scientific ability have developed a body of knowledge which transformed the production of a whole industry such as agriculture from dependence on folk knowledge to scientific knowledge. This mainly was accomplished in the last fifty years. Scientifically developed knowledge combined with capital in the form of technology has enabled this industry to produce food so abundantly that massive public expenditures amounting to several billion dollars a year are now required to make food more scarce so that the producers of it may receive a more just share of the fruits of progress.

It is apparent that knowledge to help people understand the economic dynamics or consequences of changes in technology is far better developed that is knowledge to help people understand the social dynamics or consequences of such changes. A growing labor force furnished with new capital and technology has been steadily adding to the real value of goods and services produced, but this new wealth is not equitably shared. Most informed people admit that, in our country, too many people are left ignorant by an educational system not adequately adapted to the needs of too many people; our systems of local government inadequately respond to the political and social problems of the community; too many people lack access to the health, housing and job-finding services they need; and no adequate system is developed for maintaining the quality of our environment. Society is still largely dependent on folk knowledge to improve the performance of its social and political institutional systems. Changes in them arise mainly from spontaneous transformations in periods of crisis or of highly visible obsolescence.

This seminar was intended to create opportunity for continuing the discourse on how science may be brought to serve the social welfare concerns of a rapidly developing, technocratic and urbanizing society. Twenty-eight persons were invited to the discussion and twenty-six came. They represented different points of view and areas of responsibility in the performance of the university as it relates to the economic and social change arising from national economic growth and new technology. The seminar may help to limit or give direction to a bit of wandering in the wilderness by faculty in search for a more precise response from the university to these needs. A relevant body of knowledge will make a difference in establishing more equity in the distribution of the gains from progress or the sharing of the burdens of adjustment to it.

The seminar was jointly sponsored by the Farm Foundation, the Agricultural Policy Institute and the Center for Agricultural and Economic Development.

W.G. Stucky
CAED

CONTENTS

Background Statement for the Seminar
Seminar Coordinating Committee 1

Information Needs of an Urbanizing Post-Industrial Society
Arthur Naftalin 5

Minumum Necessary Elements to Enable the University to Meet the Challenge
William N. Birenbaum 13

Overcoming the Constraints of the Present University System
James T. Bonnen 23

The Role of the Universities
Otto Kerner 37

Strategies for Involving the Publics
C. B. Ratchford 43

Strategic Choices Confronting the University in Meeting the Challenge
Robert L. Clodius 51

Second Thoughts

Pursuit of Truth
T. C. Byerly 57

Bureaucracy Out of Control
Charles M. Hardin 59

Colleges of Rural-Urban Environments
Lee Taylor 61

Community as a Client Group
Roman J. Verhaalen 63

Seminar Participants 65

BACKGROUND STATEMENT FOR THE SEMINAR

Seminar Coordinating Committee*

American communities are confronted with massive social problems that they are not prepared to meet. One measure of the growth of concern is that in 1946 the Federal Government spent 894 million dollars to help state and local governments augment their public programs–and by 1966 this figure had exploded to 14 billion dollars. This embraces more than 170 programs administered by 21 departments and agencies. (John Herbers, "Congress Facing Fight on U.S. Aid," the New York Times, Sunday, December 4, 1966).

Myriad problems need solutions–equitable taxes, educational expansion and relevancy, adequate local government, racial reconciliation, elimination of poverty, modernization of laws and public codes, improving the quality of the environment, sufficient health services, better transportation and communication, the maintenance of public order under new structural and social systems and conditions, the human desire for beauty, dignity, and well-being. Adequate progress toward solution can arise only from citizens whose understanding is in perspective with the times.

The U.S. has reached a 23 billion dollar annual level of investment in the development of technology. The private sector invests on the order of 7 billion and the public sector, 16 billion. These high investments generate enormous changes in the capital input supply and engender growth in goods and services from all industry. As a consequence of a private enterprise economy with firms responding readily to large supplies of new technology, specialization, and economies of scale, great structural changes occur in the economy and in the society. However, the level of investment in research and education to adapt the social system, its institutions and organizations to this changed structure is very small by comparison. Thus, society is without measurement of the differential impact of changes in technology, the cost and the incidence of obsolescence in institutions. The social sciences have a poor supply of data on how different individuals, families and occupational groups are influenced by the changing economic structure. The physical and biological sciences are short of data on how their contributions affect the social and economic well-being of the people. Not well developed is the idea that science and education can be as uniquely organized for the purposes of social innovation, as they had to be for technological innovation. The conceptual horizon is inadequate on the part of much of the faculty which might have created new relevant functions for the modern day university to enhance societal development in a technocratic age.

What role should the land-grant universities play in regard to these kinds of problems? They developed in a period of history that demanded the expansion and application of biological and physical science. Agricultural experiment stations and cooperative extension services as adjuncts of the land-grant university were among the great innovations in American social and economic history. The system was an important instrument of a developing nation in expanding its economy through the invention and introduction of new technology. The concern at this time is the role of the land-grant university in helping people deal with the social as well as the economic consequences of these changes that the university has helped bring about. Today's social and technological forces shape a society where the interdependency of its economic sectors has become absolute. A democracy then faces grave danger should its public universities become insensitive and immobile in furnishing knowledge relevant to solving its consequent social and political disorders.

If the land-grant universities are to meet their opportunities with regard to the emerging and existing social problems, a number of issues arise. These issues include the

**Joseph Ackerman, C. E. Bishop, J. Carroll Bottum, R. J. Hildreth, James G. Maddox, Wallace O. Ogg, W. G. Stucky* commitment of the university, identification of problems, alternative organizational forms, professional environment, methods and methodology, and the scale of relevant program operations.

Fundamental to the success of the land-grant university, struggling to develop a body of knowledge more relevant to the existing and emerging social problems, is the assumption of responsibility on the part of the university to develop an adequate conceptual horizon to organize relevant research and educational functions. This includes commitment at the individual research and extension worker level, the department chairman level, dean and director level, the president level, and the governing board level. The role of the land-grant university in the generation of scientific knowledge and technology for the development, production and management of things is well understood and appreciated by the various levels of the university community. There is clear understanding of the role of the university in research in improving understanding of scientific phenomena and its application to the management of plants, animals, machines and land. However, the role of the university in helping people find solutions to social disorder arising from lack of transformation of the social and political institutions, or the creation of new ones, is not as widely appreciated or understood. If the university is to work effectively in these areas there is need for a basic university commitment.

Identification of existing and emerging societal development problems is difficult. Uncommon ability is needed to define a question, when the answer is fundamental and basic to a wide series of uncertainties, irritants, concerns and frustrations on the part of individual and society. The universities have developed a much better framework and method of the recognition, identification and definition or problems in technology development than they have for adaptation to social problems. Now the capability for fostering social innovation needs to be developed.

Assuming the university has a commitment to relate to social problems and has a way of identifying them, the question remains of how to organize to make its contribution and how to provide an environment for its professional staff. Most social problems are group problems of complex nature and origin. The generation of a relevant body of knowledge to solve these problems requires a synergistic mechanism composed of many scientific disciplines. In dealing with these problems, the analysis may progress beyond the boundaries of science and into the realm of political philosophy. When the university explicitly moves toward furnishing knowledge factually viable for group decisions intended to improve the community, it will find itself taking hold of problems which are essentially political. How resources are organized for a professional effort in such an endeavor will be different from the way resources are deployed for technological innovation.

Related to all of these items is the question of method. How can the problems of society be analyzed, described and worked upon? What are the basic stands to be taken in terms of philosophy of science, philosophy of education, political philosophy and ethics? Given some positions taken on the above questions, what scale of operation is essential to become effective in dealing with the emerging problems while maintaining the basic public support necessary for the successful functioning of the land-grant university?

Several years ago a number of land-grant universities took a position of leadership in policy education. These universities organized some resources to provide modest research and educational programs on issues related to "government farm programs," "taxation," "community resource development," "foreign agricultural policy" and other related realms. As a result, citizens are better informed on policy issues and choices, both domestic and foreign. Economists and other staff members feel more competent to do educational work in controversial areas of policy determination and have established the institutions' integrity in these areas.

The above record of the colleges of agriculture, particularly those colleges which have long histories of insisting upon grappling with controversial issues, is well worth studying. Emerging from such a study might be to underline the importance of leaders–presidents, deans, department chairmen, major professors–who are courageous but who have also a sense of timing and of prudence, particularly in establishing and maintaining lines of support in the community.

The "function of the executive" in articulating the purpose of the university and communicating that purpose thoroughly to all members of the staff appears beyond worth. All of these conditions when met are elements of the necessary educational strategy of a viable public university and might be studied and perfected.

INFORMATION NEEDS OF AN URBANIZING POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Arthur Naftalin*

I am somewhat intimidated by the introduction because it suggests that I have more to offer than I really do. With each passing year I am less confident about my judgments concerning education and policy-making, both of which are central to the topic assigned me. But I do have some rather strong prejudices which I am pleased to share with you as we explore whether in fact science does have the answer to the problems posed by post-industrial society.

What I have to say is actually a sequel to the statement I made two years ago before the Association of State Universities and Colleges on the subject, "The University and the New Urbanism."

In that address I tried to set forth the nature of the crises that confronted us at that time. In the light of what has since transpired, it seems to me now that I seriously understated the severity of the crisis. I now think that nothing short of a radical transformation of our social institutions can adequately cope with our mounting problems.

I realize that this conclusion is at variance with our seminar topic which suggests that the answer should lie somewhere within the framework of our present society although that structure might need enlargement.

But I hold that a far more radical response is needed because no segment of our society presently seems willing to undertake its proper responsibility for dealing with our urban needs.

Congress and our state governments have been in nearly full retreat in formulating adequate programs for the cities. The public and many of our political and social institutions seem almost totally unaware that a problem even exists.

The private sector has begun to stir a bit but, basically, it follows the scheme of "business as usual." Local governments–fragmented and factionated as they are–are making only minimal response because the problems with which they must deal are basically regional and not municipal in character.

Thus, we find ourselves in the midst of a profound series of revolutions–social, economic, technological and political–but they remain only vaguely perceived by the public and almost totally unresponded to by our governments.

Now we turn hopefully to science and education, accepting uncritically the premise that science per se will be able to do for the social side of our lives what it has done for our technology.

Many persons in higher education really do believe that, if we but apply our resources in the proper way, the necessary solutions will logically follow. It is a premise that should have a most vigorous testing, because I believe that science will not save us if we fail to develop a whole new set of perspectives. In particular we need a new framework of social theory that relates the human personality in our human institutions to our post-industrial society.

**Mayor of Minneapolis*

I should like now to develop my concept of that framework from three vantage points: first, from the point of view of a large city mayor; second, the relationship of government and, third, the involvement of the university.

The list of our national ills to which we now turn our attention is so well known that I am constantly perplexed to discover how lacking in awareness even people in higher education are about the depth, scope and complexity of our problems. I see these problems in terms of eight key areas, any one of which would be more than enough of a challenge to higher education. All of them require new approaches, new theories, new knowledge and the reshaping of public attitudes.

The first area is that of the environmental problem. Well publicized statements constantly suggest that we may be in the process of destroying our ecological balance. Moreover, all of you know intimately the dangers of noise, pollution, radiation and congestion. Yet nobody seems to get very excited. I can't understand why more of our scientists are not carrying banners and picketing city hall, the state legislature, Congress and our large corporations, demanding protection against this destruction of our natural environment.

I place this first because if science can help, it ought to be in the field of environment control. And as we move along, you will see how the remaining areas are even more difficult for science to influence.

The second area I call transportation and planning. I include here the total physical plant that serves the urban center–the use of land for multiple purposes of commerce and industry and for residential and recreational needs. Although we have begun to pay attention to the renewal and redevelopment of our cities, actually we've done little about housing since World War II. Our cities are rapidly deteriorating; each year sees more square blocks of blight and more homes which are substandard.

My metropolitan area is typical. We have now in our seven county region in Minneapolis-St. Paul a population of 1,700,000. This will go to 2,000,000 by 1975 and double to 4,000,000 by the year 2000. In the Twin City area we have rather good planning relative to the rest of the nation, but I don't think even we could claim that we yet approach the degree of planning needed. Again, if science has much to offer, it should be used to help us plan future settlements, to make the proper mix of land use and to develop a transportation system adequate for our great anticipated growth.

The third area I call simply "poverty," but we could also call it "the distribution or imbalance in wealth." What has released such enormous tension, ferment and threat to our survival is having a great paradox of our affluence and poverty side by side in America, with a steadily widening gulf between, separating people who have survived our system and those who are barely surviving. We say repeatedly that we must wait until we have settled the Vietnam conflict before we can cope with poverty at home. Our whole sense of priorities places the concerns of poverty at the bottom of the list. We are spending on the order of $70 billion on the space program and I find it ironical that the space and defense programs have really in effect nationalized higher education and brought it fully into the orbit of ongoing governmental and scientific research. In addition, we spend another $45 or $50 billion for our highway program. We are also spending $35 to $40 billions of dollars annually in Vietnam, and yet for all of our urban needs, including the poverty program, we allot something less than $4 billion.

Poverty is so hidden from view. Although Michael Harrington popularized the notion of "the other America" a number of years ago, this invisible America is still a well kept secret in our land, and even in my own city, although something like 35% of our family units have annual incomes of less than $5,000. Nearly 20% of our families are below $3,000. To be sure, some of these are elderly units, individuals and couples over the age of 65 whose needs are not as great as those with children who are being educated. But the fact remains that a large and significant percentage of our urban population are people who live below the poverty line. If we think that higher education by simply finding the right informational inputs, to use that current word of such great popularity, can reverse this without doing something fundamental to the structure, we mislead ourselves.

Other Side of Poverty

The fourth problem I would describe as the other side of the coin of poverty. It relates to a fundamental long-term concern with what is happening in our urban centers in the areas of education, welfare, health and what I loosely call the "quality of life." Go into the school systems of Chicago, New York, Cleveland or any of our large cities and you will come away convinced that the quality of American life is in something more than a state of crisis, requiring far more massive resources and drastic overhaul than we are prepared to provide.

The same is true of our welfare programs. We have been talking about our public assistance programs now for 35 years, ever since the adoption of the Social Security Act, but we have yet to work a single basic reform in our program.

Even Congress recently passed amendments to cut back on the limited benefits for mothers on Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Meanwhile, we largely ignore the increasing divorce rate, the appalling rise in alcoholism and the use of drugs, the mounting number of fatherless homes and increasing illegitimacy, all of which indicate that there has been a failure of values. Before we can talk about what science can do to help us in urban society, we have to raise the question: "What can education do to set right public attitudes so that the people of our communities begin to view realistically the problems that are before them?"

The fifth area is violence and crime. Up until now I've been talking about the normal side of our lives. Now I pass to the pathological side. A great national campaign is being fought over the issue of law and order, but the national oratory bears almost no relationship to the problem. The men who are most fierce about establishing law and order are also the most fierce about cutting back governmental support on programs designed to improve the lot of people living in urban centers. The truth is that we need a massive and fundamental reexamination of our institutions of law enforcement, of our courts, apprehension, detention and rehabilitation of offenders.

The sixth area is what I call amenities and neighborhoods although this may be slightly repetitive of the earlier one about the quality of life. It involves planning, welfare and public safety, but I include something more than this, even beyond the quality of life. I mean the deliberate nurturing of the arts and the application of our resources so that we reestablish a sense of humanity in our cities. I don't know how you do this with computers or with the scientific approach, but to me this should be the classic objective of education. I might say here that one of the hopes I saw in the anti-poverty program, despite its initial mistakes, was that it represented a genuinely spirited outreaching on the part of society. It attempted to reincorporate into society people with reason to feel alienated or rejected and there is a similar need to fashion communities and neighborhoods with a renewed sense of vitality and attention to human values.

My seventh area is the inadequacy of local government. I could generalize and say the inadequacy of government generally, but I want to keep the focus somewhat narrower here on urban centers. Earlier I suggested that the problems we face are metropolitan in character, and that the local governments which must contend with these problems are limited and ineffective. In our area of the Twin Cities, which is typical of metropolitan areas over the country, we have between 300 and 400 competitive and overlapping units of government, including school districts, special districts, counties, cities, villages, towns. We have taken some steps in the direction of a metropolitan council, but it still is not a government in any real sense of the word. Our financing is totally fragmented. We have almost 300 separate taxing jurisdictions and all are almost exclusively dependent upon the property tax. This is unfortunate because one-third of the homes in the city of Minneapolis are owned by people over the age of 65. Yet, in Minneapolis when we embark on any type of financing program we are, like most cities, limited under state law pretty largely to the use of property tax. This means that it is the poorer people of the central cities who increasingly must assume the burden of taxation for public safety, for education and for all the other public services core cities provide which benefit an entire metropolitan region.

Finally, I point to what I call "control versus freedom." How are we going to cope with the demands of a future population of 4 million people in our Twin Cities area and a steadily expanding national population if we don't begin to have social controls on the use of land, on the fume-producing automobile, on the general physical environment, or on our punitive laws and the field of drugs. When will we begin to create a needed new sense of enlightenment with respect to what properly belongs to the private sector, what properly belongs to the government sector, and how to reorder society to conform more closely with our needs.

I suggest we have five basic immediate needs. The least complex is what most people mean when they talk about science and technology being applied to help with urban problems. I call this housekeeping for management information. Here I am talking about tax roles, registration of births and deaths, police records, water billing, purchasing, accounting, enrollment data on our schools–the enormous amounts of information generated every day in government. If we had proper organization for the management of this information, the by-product of this would be much more important than the process itself for it could tell us what we can do about organizing the resources. But unfortunately everything is put at the service of the computer instead of the other way around. What we should have, of course, is a vast reorganization of our governmental institutions so that we could really make use of the computer beyond just data processing. We could use the computer to give us the kind of social data that would lead to larger concepts that would introduce improved social and economic planning.

This leads next to our need for assistance from systems analysis, engineering and development. I know that there is much interest currently in the application of new technological systems to urban problems. Institutions of higher education can be quite helpful here because they can provide the meeting ground between those who understand about the theoretical aspects of computer technology and those in government and private industry who have had experience in these processes. But I always like to send up a big red flag when talking about systems because I don't believe that systems technology can begin to touch the main areas that I've enumerated and for this reason I don't like to think of higher education investing its resources largely and almost exclusively in the scientific development of systems technology.

Blight of Specialization

The third resource that we are looking for is aid in the development of new conceptualizations of society's problems and its institutions–the kind of theoretical constructs that will be meaningful guides in dealing with our social problems. Here is where I talk about the normative as against the scientific. We need to redress the balance of higher education, to face quite honestly the great blight of specialization. Perhaps I shouldn't use the word blight because specialization has unlocked enormous energies and resources in industrial society. But what it has also wrought is a withdrawal by our brains of highest quality from the most serious problems. I was painfully aware of this when I recently lectured a group of public health officers–rather fiercely, I confess–because I felt that here were people who know the problem of environmental control and environmental pollution better than any other single group of professional people. Yet they are almost totally inactive in this field, because they say, as do we all, "When you have defined the problem, bring it to us and we will do something with it. We will find the chemical formula and give you a secondary treatment and process."

But the politics of alerting people to the need for such secondary treatment always falls to somebody else. Most often, it's left to those marginal types like myself who wander into city hall.

There is another facet of this that is pervasive in our society and unfortunately it is pervasive in our colleges and universities. Your colleagues will tell you the rewards of higher education go to those who publish. Publish what? Something very specialized, very highly developed and esoteric, bits of scientific lore and knowledge. But actually, we need far more interdisciplinary research and cross-disciplinary programs, a more conceptualized description of our problems and identification of the leverage point at which we can make impact. It is always extremely helpful to have people with a broad view. Even when they are eccentric or offbeat, they have some things to contribute.

Let me give you one further illustration about this matter of specialization and the price we pay. A few years ago it was estimated that as many as 1,000 Minneapolis high school pupils were becoming addicted to hard drugs. I called a conference in my office which wound up with 28 specialists, including pharmacologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, school personnel and representatives from the PTA. Everybody lectured everyone else in the room about the problem from his narrow, specialized area of concern.

In the end, the mayor of the city, the school people and the superintendent were left completely helpless, because what we were told was that the parents had a responsibility in watching the kids, the school had a responsibility to the kids in respect to drugs and their effects, the pharmacologists and druggists all had their responsibilities, but nobody apparently was assigned prime responsibility. Maybe it is not accidental that we selected drugs, because I am rather preoccupied with this as a central problem in our society because of the extent to which the use of drugs may be affecting and changing the character of the human personality. But I also do not happen to agree with our barbaric laws regarding drugs, particularly marijuana.

Now the fourth thing that we are looking for is the preparation of leaders and of adequate technological and professional personnel. Our corporation executives and labor leaders have all fled to the suburbs; what used to be the natural leadership of the core city has literally turned its back on our urban problems, leaving us with mostly only the poor and elderly. I think that higher education can help to reverse this trend by making a more deliberate effort to get people of quality, intellectual power, and unusual leadership capacity to pay attention to urban problems and to become involved in the political stream. When all is said and done, when we talk about the informational needs of the urbanizing society–we're talking about politics. If we think for a moment there is some way to separate this out and that the responsibility of education ends at the shores of science, that's wrong. No impact will ever be made that way.

Finally, the fifth area is that of fashioning new public attitudes, of enlarging public understanding to make it possible for us to develop new systems and policies to reorganize our government and help it move with a sense of social urgency. With our enormous wealth, our presumed tradition of freedom, our presumed dedication to qualify, and our presumed concern with human life and the American ideal, why should we be so insensitive and indifferent to poverty and human degradation? Why should competitive pressures permit us to despoil our environment when we have so much with which to work? The truth is that we are hung up in this country on sex, money, religion and race.

A University Response

My final section deals with how the university can provide a more meaningful response. I don't want to demean the notion that if only we examine and measure human behavior sufficiently, we will see answers to patterns and this in turn will tell us how society should be organized. This has some merit, but it is not all that simple. Throughout the social sciences, sociologists, political scientists and economists actually seem to think that solving the problem of poverty is on the same level as controlling the bacterial count in the river. This fallacy can be dangerously misleading.

I also suggest the need for the application of even greater intellectual force to analyze the complex structure of post-industrial society than presently exists. A more systematic effort on the part of those engaged in the social and natural sciences to identify pivotal points will help us manage our critical problems or at least make an approach to them.

The third thing we need is the exchange of validated concepts. There are some especially productive insights and effective experimental or pilot efforts. But very often we never hear about them in our cumbersome society where the exchange of information becomes very difficult. There is a new move under way, incidentally, through urban observatories which the National League of Cities in conjunction with Federal agencies is trying to promote with Title I money of the Higher Education Act. This is designed to provide for the exchange of information within institutions that are working in the higher education field, and if we did nothing more than find a way of maintaining and encouraging this exchange, we would make a worthwhile impact.

Fourth are large scale experiments. Here I would mention as one venture the experimental city project at the University of Minnesota. This is a deliberate venture to apply what modern technology may have to tell us about more efficient use of resources and the recycling of technological processes for a minimum of waste. I hesitate to mention this area because I'm aware that the resources of higher education are limited and we should engage in these experiments on very cautious and well defined grounds. I don't think we should undertake experimentation except as we have reason to believe that our hypotheses and the generalizations we seek are within some reasonable area of management and reality. I am very much concerned with higher education becoming too beholden to government. I think there has been an excess in the natural and physical science field to the detriment of humanistic learning. This is a delicate and sensitive area and some of you may say, "If that fellow thinks we're going to stop going after federal money, he sure is out of his mind." That may very well be. But I still think that projects and experiments ought to be carefully defined.

The fifth thing I would mention is the restoration of respect for humanistic learning, to find a way to bring greater rewards to the generalists of quality in higher education. We need to develop students who do not succumb to the current vogue for narrow specialization, but who have instead the intellectual force and vitality to roam freely as generalists seeking to understand the complexity of human behavior, the richness of its variety and its potential.

The Neutral Ground

There's a sixth thing I would mention in regard to the university providing a meaningful response, and that is what I call filling the service vacuum. Communities, especially the small ones, are in desperate need of assistance on day-to-day problems of planning and environmental control, on zoning problems and legal problems. The states are beginning to create departments of urban affairs for this purpose and I think there is also a distinct function that universities can perform there, provided we do it on higher education's terms, with educational and research components that justify the university's using its limited resources. I think the establishment of a service station for cities as such should rather be the function of state government, with governments pressured into reorganizing themselves at the county level or the multi-county level so that they provide these services for themselves. But to have a League of Municipalities based on a university campus, as ours is at the University of Minnesota, is also a good thing because that provides a crossroads where the municipal official meets the college professor and the community resident.

I've already taken care of my seventh point but I conclude on it because, in the end, this is the most valuable thing we provide in higher education, the neutral ground for the joining of government with private enterprise and voluntary groups. We have various agencies in the University of Minnesota that are interested and involved in urban affairs, including our Extension Division and the Program of Continuing Education in Urban Affairs. The latter has some Title I money and has held a series of conferences. One conference, for example, on beautification brought together a group of about two to three hundred of our key leaders in the metropolitan area and opened their eyes to how we have sadly neglected the Mississippi River which flows through our city. It emphasized to these people that beautification must be more closely related to the urban process. Now all this is relatively uncomplicated, but it can have a great deal of impact and we need a lot more of such meeting of minds to shake each other up.

When all is said and done, we have to go back to city hall and pick it up from there, if in picking it up we can then count on a dozen enlightened people in the city. If I had a dozen people in the city of Minneapolis who at this moment would stop what they are doing in their area of specialization and say, "OK, I'll come and help you on a reform of the drug laws," we would begin to reverse some of what is so wrong in society.

MINUMUM NECESSARY ELEMENTS TO ENABLE THE UNIVERSITY TO MEET THE CHALLENGE

William N. Birenbaum*

It is interesting that American academics still rely in defense of self-interest on the great European tradition to spawn the present models of the institutions which we represent here. During the last summer the biggest single capital investment by the university of Rome was to put iron bars on the windows of every campus building. Then during the last six months, the French students have come up with a quite remarkable revision of the university system, a very promising revision which completely compromises all that American academics rely upon and that the French tradition holds near and dear. The British are bumbling through university problems in the usual way. How much longer they will be able to bumble without confrontation remains to be seen. And then there are the Germans, with their great system which produced close to 40% of the officers in the elite corps of the SS in the academic year 1940-41. That system, because of student uprisings in Munich, West Berlin, Frankfurt, and Hamburg, is now being challenged, and major reform efforts are presently taking place.

This country, which improvised the Morrill Act and the colleges that resulted therefrom, now in a peculiar kind of way finds itself almost a century in advance of its European ancestors. Today all together in the civilized world we face these crises. If you haven't read it yet, I recommend this morning's Wall Street Journal, where a feature article on the front page concerns the present upheaval in Soviet higher education and the issues that are being raised: specialization versus generalization; separation of elites versus equality of opportunity–and the Soviet response: "The idiom is reactionary."

I would like to say a few words about the models which we have imitated. In one goes back eight or nine centuries to the 11th or the early 12th Century, the places where the scribes wrote–pre-printing press–the places where knowledge was collected, and in some orderly fashion retained, studied and interpreted, were the monasteries under the jurisdiction of the Church. There are a couple of distinguishing qualities of the monastery that are relevant to our discussion. One thing that is very relevant is that though there were a few monasteries built in cities of Europe during that time, and a few more built in areas proximate to cities, the vast majority were purposely put in isolation from the city in the countryside.

The second thing about the monastery which is significant is that inevitably, almost without exception, the monastery was built in a clearly enclosed space. It had a wall around it. A wall is a very significant thing. In the case of the monastery, the wall served really two purposes. Like the wall that has been built around Czechoslovakia recently, the first purpose that it served was to lend strength to an internal system of law and order. The wall enclosed a community, and that community had a very much intact, cohesive, coherent and understandable social system. The first function of the wall was to make sure that what went on inside remained intact. The wall regulated the conduct of the people on the inside, and it regulated what on the inside could go out.

The second function of the wall was the obvious one, and that is to prevent unlimited, unrestricted, uncensored entry by external things into the community. It policed what came in. The retreat, or if you will, the escape of scholarship from this situation, began to occur in the early 12th Century. It involved uniformly a flow from these suburban or rural walled enclaves, closed learning systems, to the streets of the cities–literally to the streets. Among

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the first of the great cities to get involved was Bologna. Several hundred students from France, Scandinavia, Germany, England, and other places in Europe, descended on Bologna, then a city of about 45,000 people. Preceding them were a few great scholars who had arisen outside the system and who for a variety of reasons settled in Bologna. The students followed the scholars.

When they hit Bologna, their first and immediate problem was housing. There were few multiple dwellings in Bologna, and there weren't enough ready spaces to accommodate the sudden influx of this transitory tourist population. The burghers of Bologna did the natural thing under such circumstances; they rent gouged. In reaction to this, within the first few months after their arrival, the students formed a unionto dealwith the landlords. The union was called a Universitas. This was an expression used to describe any craft union of that age. It had nothing to do with the universality of learning, the comprehensiveness of education, or anything like that. It referred to the solidarity of a group with special economic interest. The universitas of students confronted the landlords and controlled rents through their confrontation. But having organized into a union for that purpose, the students turned to their next natural economic problem, and that was the professors. They set salaries and teaching conditions, and they set the regulations which would govern the lives of those who taught them.

The great scholar of the medieval university, Charles Homer Haskins, has a delightful chapter in his book called "The Medieval University," in which he describes what the student regulation of faculty life was like. For example, the students had an officer of the Universitas who rang a bell when the professor was supposed to start lecturing, and who rang a bell when the professor was supposed to be through. A committee of the Universitas had defined in advance the subject area the professor was supposed to cover between bells. If in the judgment of that committee the professor didn't cover it well, his salary was appropriately docked. The professor could not leave the official geo-political boundaries of the city of Bologna without the explicit permission of the student Universitas. If they left, they left literally on a weekend pass. The conditions of their leaving specified the conditions of their return.

Professors, being human too, reacted to this in the perfectly normal way; they formed their own union. Their union was called the Collegium, and it didn't take them long to discover the counter clout. The counter clout was that theirs turned out to be the high prestige union. Success in the community was measured by whether your membership in one union could become converted to membership in the higher status union. Everyone wanted to be recognized as knowing as much as those who taught him! Once the professors figured that out, they created a system whereby they would certify one who they thought at some time had come to know as much as they. The format of certification came to be a lecture, where the professors sat around a table and listened to the student say his stuff. If the student was up to it, the professors took a vote and certified that he could join their union, which then meant that he was qualified to switch sides from student to professor. Most of these students had no interest in teaching; they had interest in other things, but all the students went through this ritual for status and prestige purposes.

This situation involved a simple power exchange, about which both of the involved sides were very frank. But this did not endure for long. Indeed, it took only two or three centuries for compelling reasons to arise for the whole operation to leave the streets and go back into a version of the monastic enclave. The escape was essentially a political event. It was an escape by those who wanted to learn, who wanted to be scholars, from the overriding anti-intellectual authority of the Church and of the State. There were many nations dominated by the Church in Europe during those Medieval times; there was a coalescence of the power and authority of the Church with the power and authority of the

State. This coalition confronted the academics with the necessity of dealing with a "secular" society which imposed its own demands on the scholarly process.

Perimeters and Walls

Louis Mumford calls the super-block campus at Oxford "the greatest contribution of Medieval architecture to that craft." The super-block campus at Oxford very much resembles a monastery. It was an enclosed area with a discreet boundary. Its walls were meant to be a demarcation between the actions and compulsions of the streets of the city and the kind of atmosphere that was allegedly necessary to the scholarly process. It was out of Oxford that the idea of the modern campus evolved. "Campus" comes from the Latin word for open field, and it is essentially the Oxonian concept of a campus that was brought to this country, embodied in the way that Harvard was designed, and pretty much emulated by those who have built the American higher education system.Wherever they have built campuses–whether they built them in geo-political centers, or as a result of political compromising in places like Madison, Urbana, or Bloomington, or in the heart of great cities, like on Morningside Heights, Washington Square, Hyde Park in Chicago, or the cultural center area of Detroit–it was this conception of a large open space with very definite perimeters and even walls.

You'll recall in the height of the Columbia incident, the New York Times reported that the campus security force and then the police department of the city of New York locked the gates of the main walk of Morningside Heights and secured the walls. When I left Long Island University in Brooklyn, the authorities of that university ordered the gates in the wall of the campus to be locked for security purposes. If you go to Brooklyn College or City College in New York City, you will find that every weekend the gates are locked. You can stand on the busy streets on the perimeter and look in, and the red brick colonial buildings, green grass and trees give a hint of campus and open field, all quiet and serene as compared to what's going on at the perimeter of the campus. This concept of the super-block enclave campus has its roots back in the monastic conception of how learning should take place. It is this model which we use to build our American universities wherever we build them.

The beauty of this conception politically, as it attempted to cope with the imposition of the secular power of the City or State upon the learning process and its institution, was the idea that what goes on within the walls should clearly be something called "thought" as distinct from something we commonly understand as "action." In the monastic situation no one was asking the people in charge to act; they were supposed to write it down, collect it, interpret it, and think. If the authorities who ran this walled fortress decided that the result should be exported beyond the walls, they made the political decision to export it. If they decided that it shouldn't be, they made the political decision not to do it. However, when you got down in the street, the line between thinking and action became very tenuous indeed. The students lived with the townspeople. Indeed, the students were townspeople. If there were political problems in Bologna that interested the populace, the students and the teachers were the populace too, and they were a part of that political action. If there were compelling civic issues which obsessed them and their colleagues in citizenship, they were very much aware of those issues. The retreat into the Oxford super-block reestablished the clean break between the responsibility to think, that is to organize resources and accommodate the process of scholarship, and the responsibility to act. As long as those in charge could say, "What we do does not involve a responsibility to act," they were also in a position to tell the secular authorities, whom they were trying to get away from, to leave them alone.

Start with a Campus

Recently I tried to start a new college in a Black community in New York City, and it's interesting, as you go through this academic process, how these Medieval models influence the way you build. City University in New York has built six new campuses in the last decade, and it's committed to six more within the next half decade. State University is now up to 58 campuses, about half of which have been put together in the last decade and a half, and they are going to build lots more. If you want to build a new university, you start with a campus.

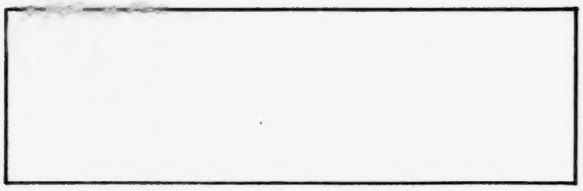
Last week I was a consultant to the Commission on Higher Education of the State of Colorado. They had three existing dispersed academic units in metropolitan Denver, which someone out there at the political end of the stick–for purposes of coordination, efficiency and serving the people–decided ought to be put into one. They decided it ought to be in the "inner city" to serve the poor people of Denver. So they picked out a ten square-block area about eight blocks from the main commercial area in Denver–an area, incidentally, now inhabited by Black and Spanish-speaking families. The three existing units have a combined student enrollment of about 11,000. In the next three years a central center of learning for Denver would accommodate an enrollment of 30,000, which translates into approximately 65,000 different bodies. Downtown Denver now has parking spaces for about 45,000 cars at any given time. This operation requires imposing about 18,000 more in this impact area. But the thought was that if you're going to have a university which is a center of learning for Denver, the first thing you think about is the campus. That is, you take ten blocks, you define it, you clear out everything that is now in it, and start with blank land to create something very different from everything around it.

In the case of the Denver site, Cherry Creek runs along one perimeter and gives you a wall, an expressway cuts through the other perimeter and gives you a wall, a railroad tracks runs through the other side and gives you a wall, and the only side you have to worry about is the fourth side. They have devoted a great deal of attention to that side–how they could block it off. This is like the thinking about redevelopment of the South Side of Chicago and the University of Chicago participation, where they had the midway wall on one side. The problem was what to do with the Black neighborhood coming in on 51st and 53rd Streets. They had Washington Park on one end, which unhappily had become an essentially Black park, and Lake Michigan on the other. Their crucial perimeter was the northern perimeter that faced the Illinois Institute of Technology and the Loop, where the Blacks were coming in. There they built the wall by having a row of high-rise housing that was upper-middle and middle income, at a cost that would preclude Black residency. That's how the wall was built on that side of Chicago's campus in view of the changing patterns of the area that required a wall to be built.

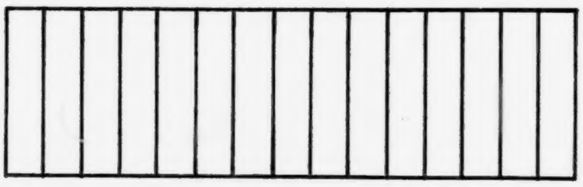
Once you have this kind of thing set up, once you have a campus defined, you do face this problem of specialization. The politics of what goes on inside the campus, Mr. Mayor, is much neater than your kind of politics. As you know, having been an academic too, all knowledge is laid out in colleges in deep vertical shafts, which come politically to represent the departments. Over each of these departments is the precinct captain, who is called a chairman, and they all point in to a ward leader, who is called a dean. Political power within these shafts, the size, the width of these shafts, really depends upon the number of credit hours each department can pre-empt. The credit hours system is the national currency of this economy. It determines how many teachers are needed to staff the hours to be taught. That in turn determines the number of dollars required. For the pecking order of what goes on in this system, the more teachers you have as a result of the credit hours, the more of the whole you pre-empt, the more economy you have, and therefore the more political power you have. This whole modern-day monastery is defined not only geographically, but temporally as well. The credit-hour system is every bit as important as the wall that is

HOW A UNIVERSITY TAKES SHAPE

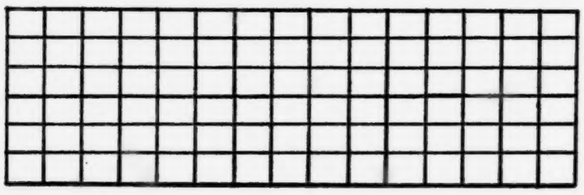
A university is a definite place. It occupies identifiable real estate. It has a shape of its own, like a square or a rectangle–



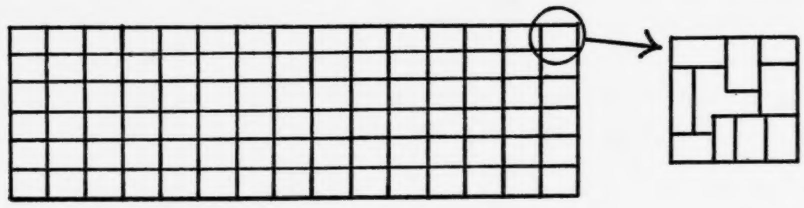
Within its shape it groups knowledge in vertical categories, departmental shafts. The political life within the place it occupies moves up and down these vertical shafts and along the lines between them.



Horizontal control systems are imposed upon the vertical knowledge-shafts within the university. The credit hour currency system, the grading system, the testing systems, the admission systems, the systems for regulating student and faculty life–these cut across the vertical lines and extend over the full width of the academic place.



Within the little squares and rectangles created by the intersections between the vertical shafts and the horizontal bars, selected pieces of knowledge are lined up in course-rows. Some course-pieces are bigger than others–some reach higher into a third dimension; but all conform to the lay of the academic land–they respect the pattern of the squares.



The map of the university place takes on the appearance of a map of a piece of a typical American city. A rigid grid is set upon the open land of learning. Scholarly traffic is forced to move up and down and across the narrow control-system/knowledge-category streets. Traffic at the intersections is dangerous, and special lights and warning bells, protocols and rituals, regulate the trips of those who try to move. Within the congestion of course-row buildings the scholars live and work. Some occupy the high-rent dwellings–the professorial research seminars, the reduced teaching load luxury apartments. Others, in the lower ranks, dwell in introductory, freshman course-slums.

physically put around the system, because the limit of 128 or 136 credit hours establishes a monopoly system in terms of time. If you can really establish a monopoly system, you can create a very intense demand for a limited resource which enhances your power within this kind of political system. The subject matter system, or vertical shaft, is governed by a series of horizontal control systems. The most obvious among them is the credit hour, a currency which is critical to the establishment of monopoly traditions. Others are admission thresholds. Another is the imposition of a standardized grading system. Another is the faculty which operates within this system, classified first by the four basic ranks, and second by the tenure system. Of course the students are also classified by the four years and all the prestige and status of that.

So you have ranking and other horizontal control systems which regulate the flow of power in this kind of a community. Obviously there are danger spots in this kind of a grid. They are at the places where people in chemistry, for example, rise up out of their shafts, and attempt horizontal movement across other shafts. Here powers collide and people get hit and literally knocked off their feet. It's when the chemists come out and say, "Well, we want to usurp more credit hours in the undergraduate program, two or three more, or ten more," that they confront the people in the next shaft, in physics or biology. Then warfare occurs in whatever kinds of general forums exist in this kind of a community--faculty meetings, departmental meetings, collegiate meetings, etc. If you take one of the squares in this grid and blow it up to examine it a bit more intensively, you will find that what goes on inside the square in many ways resembles how city blocks are built. You will find different kinds of academic architecture. You will find, for example, low long A&P-type dwellings, supermarkets really, taught and staffed by low-paid help. These are the survey or introductory courses in the system. Right next to it you may see a sleek, high-rise, high-rent dwelling of the kind occupied by senior faculty members who teach graduate seminars. These have very small and limited bases, but go up and down vertically to considerable heights and differ, therefore, from the flow of what goes on in the supermarket-type course.

Grid and Ghetto

Indeed, this whole picture turns out to look very much like the picture of any piece of a map of any great city of the United States today, and the flow of activities in that grid suffers from the same restraints and opportunities as the flow of activities in any piece of our great cities, subject to one unique peculiarity: the wall. The academic urban place is surrounded by a wall, a piece of the city surrounded by a wall. Consequently, the process that occurs on the inside is meant to be inward looking. In this respect, this academic grid resembles a very special part of the typical American city, the part that we have come to call the ghettos. In many respects the ghetto is very close to this kind of academic system. The hallmark of the ghetto is that by values, it is the exact opposite of the idea of cities. The ghetto is kind of a static island in the sea of values that have traditionally characterized what we mean by city in the western world.

What do we mean by city in the western world? What has drawn your clientele from the farms and small towns into these population centers? What has happened in American society that has made the kinds of institutions that yours were fifty years ago virtually irrelevant to the needs of the society now? First, I think, it is the expectation of mobility. The young, the immigrant, and the new American have always gravitated to the city in the expectation that it is a place where they could move, particularly in status and opportunity, but also physically. Of course, everyone assumed that the move would be upward, and for many decades in American society the movement generally was upward. But movement is movement, and it can imply down as well as up, laterally as well as up or down. Secondly, the city has always been attractive to the more thoughtful people in western society because it always seems to embody an interesting variety of options. City, as distinct from small town and certainly from contemporary suburbs, we think of as a place where there is a variety of architecture, variety in the way people dress, an unusual variety in recreational opportunities, an unusual number of choices regarding job opportunities and friends.

Of course, one of the consequences of having many choices to make is that people make different choices. They value different things differently and, as a consequence, city has always been a place where there has been a high degree of conflict and controversy. That's why the solicitation of urban votes has always been different from the solicitation of the rural vote. A politician operating in the rural areas can make certain assumptions about the homogeneity of outlook of the potential voters which he would be foolish to make in an urban situation. And finally the city has been a place where one is encouraged by the nature of these other qualities to engaged in the conflict aggressively. One is not penalized for doing that. But our academic generals, of course, dishonor all of those things with their system. They really don't encourage real mobility. They really don't frame for the student or for the teacher, for that matter, meaningful options. They are becoming places where everyone from the president all the way down to the greenest freshman is discouraged from controversial engagement.

In these respects, what confronts the contemporary citizen of the modern academic ghetto is very much like what confronts the contemporary citizen of the Black ghetto. America has never been a melting pot; it has always been a composite of involuntary and voluntary ghettos. I don't know of a truly integrated area in New York City. I know of 8 million people collected in some 80 different neighborhoods, each one of which, for some purposes, is segregated–for purposes of residence, for purposes of church going, for purposes of commerce or whatever. There is no great problem in New York today with the Italian ghetto. Chinatown wants to be a ghetto. The great Jewish neighborhoods of Flatbush, the Bronx and Queens are the places where the houses of worship are, where special religious schools are, where the special meat markets and grocery stores are. The people like it that way. What makes New York a city is the capacity of the people in these voluntary ghettos to get out of them for certain common urban discourses–when they go to Lincoln Center, when they go to Times Square, when they go to Wall Street to do whatever they do, when they go to Central Park, when they go into the subways, when they ride the expressway, presumably when they go into the public schools or the university systems–at that point there may be an integration of New York society.

But in the case of the Black and Puerto Rican ghettos of New York, which I would call involuntary, there are not these options. They can go in the subways, but for most of them there is no place to go, so there is no point in using them. They can go to Lincoln Center, but for most of them there is no point in going to Lincoln Center. Either they can't afford to do what you go to do when you get to Lincoln Center, or getting inside Lincoln Center, there is no encouragement for them to appreciate what normally happens inside Lincoln Center. New York is a crosspatch of voluntary and involuntary ghettos. For the involuntary one, there is no outlook for common discourse in the life of the city, just as in the case of the involuntary academic ghettos. There is very little release into a common national discourse which is integrated and which is democratic. Now I think in their curious way more and more of our students understand this. I think in their curious, sometimes stupid or inane way, more and more of the people who produce the treasure to support the academic ghetto understand this. I see some evidence among young faculty people right out of their training centers that they still understand it before they are spoiled by this academic political system, coerced by it. I think this is what we are up against, so the issue really is, "How do you really break out of this? How do you break out of these rigidities? How do you get out of this box?" That's the issue.

Controversy and Action

The first thing that must be done is to break down the wall, obviously, and to restore the truly urban or city mentality to the process of learning, because learning occurs best in such an atmosphere. Learning occurs best where people have a sense of the possibility of mobility; learning occurs best where variety is honored; learning occurs best where controversy is encouraged, and where people feel that it is the most natural thing in the world to engage in the controversy.

How do you break down the wall? The first intellectual and technical problem is to restore the connection between thought and action, and if I get the message of the contemporary American student, it concerns this point. This is what the Peace Corps was all about; this is what Vista is all about; this is what the French student revolt is all about; this is what the student reaction to Vietnam is all about; this is what the Black students are all about. It is about the curious disconnection we have imposed, mainly in the cause of learning, between the organized process of thinking and the natural immediate spontaneous taking up of the responsibility for acting pursuant to what we think. That is the critique against the faculty of Columbia; it did not assume the responsibilities of acting pursuant to what it thought.

That is what the collected student leaders at Harvard meant when they sat down a few months ago and said, "Mr. President, we object to the way Harvard University invests its portfolio." And the president of Harvard replied with a perfectly straight face, "That's beyond the purview of your objection. Harvard does not invest its money for social causes. It invests its money for the good of Harvard." Now, of course, many of you since have observed the Ford Foundation, the Taconic Foundation, and other statements about investment portfolios and social responsibility. But when those students went in there and said, "Mr. President, we object to what Harvard does with its investment portfolio," what they were really talking about was the institutional connection (or lack of it) between the thought and action. That's what the Black students meant at Columbia when they said, "Columbia as a corporation has a responsibility to Harlem for what Columbia thinks."

Now it may make some of you feel better to engage in the legal fiction of the meaning of the corporation; it may make you feel better to make this distinction between human beings operating within a certain code of law and an artificiality like a corporation acting within a certain set of ground rules. All I can say is that your critics see through that fiction quickly these days, and if Columbia determines to invest its portfolio in 400 different multiple-dwelling buildings in and about Harlem, that is a connection between thought and action which it as an institution must confront. You cannot restore a meaningful connection between thought and action if the grid system is going to be your way of regarding how to organize knowledge and how to convey it to others. Through its very rigidity, it precludes connection between thought and action.

The Grid and the Problem

I'm sure there are many ways to break down this grid and to cope with knowledge. It seems to me the most suggestive way is–what the city itself compels one to recognize–mainly that the interesting problems of the future, let alone the present, quickly break down these vertical shafts. These problems transcend knowledge. Any of you who have had to run one of these institutions or a piece of it knows how unsettling it is when some governmental, public or even private group comes to you with a problem which you cannot readily administer in order to receive the money they are willing to give you to study and do the research. Somebody says to you, "Here's a problem. We'll give you a $100,000 grant to do research." You know that it involves getting the wardkeeper, the precinct captain from economics in a room with one from history, one from psychology, one from sociology, and the subject is "How to Spend $100,000." After you've characterized the problem in which they are all involved, you know what happens in terms of teaching load assignments, released time, allocation of the research grant among the departments, and the whole bit. The system takes over and what comes out is not a cannonball but a pea, generally.

What I'm suggesting is that one approach to the restoration of the thought and action connection, which is essential to break down this wall, is to view a substantial part of what now is in these vertical shafts in terms of problems. Now I'd like to give you an example of how that might be done. In the case of the Black community in New York in which I worked, we encountered several bright young teen-agers who seemed, by the nature of their talents, possibly very good lawyers. Others, good doctors. Others, good teachers. Well, I want to tell you something about these teen-age youths and this kind of a grid. Their view of a lawyer or a doctor or an Indian chief is very different from yours. The law to them does not necessarily represent justice, but its opposite. When you say to a young bright militant Black Panther today, "Be a lawyer"–maybe not so much today because so many Black Panthers have been in the courts they are beginning to master what the real meaning of the system is–but if you had said to him three months ago, "Be a lawyer," he'd have probably said to you, "I know what the law is. It's where we get screwed when we get dragged in by police." You say, "Be a doctor," and I know what is conjured up in their minds: the corner pharmacy or the indignity of a public health clinic waiting room. You say, "Be a teacher," and you are saying the worst thing in the world to these people as they remember what being a teacher was.

I came from a nice clean Middlewestern town of 60,000 people out in the rich cornfields of northeastern Iowa, and I went through a good law school–it was good then and it's even better now. I had my doctor's degree plus two years before I began to have the vaguest notion of what being a lawyer was all about. A great many of the young people, who the system now compels to make a career choice in their freshman or sophomore year, come to you as high school graduates having made that choice. You take over with the rigid system you then impose on them pursuant to that choice. They don't have the vaguest idea what they are getting into. It's a good part of the reason why many people practicing law have no business practicing it, why many people holding all of the command posts in American society are really miseducated for the roles that they play. These disconnections in the perceptions of the people seeking a higher education are generally extended and aggravated by the organizational forms of the higher educational systems. Unless these are resolved, our troubles on the campus are only beginning. We must find new ways to capitalize on the unique life experiences our student clientele brings to us–new ways to connect thinking with acting in the learning process.

OVERCOMING THE CONSTRAINTS OF THE PRESENT UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

James T. Bonnen*

I have been asked to discuss how we might overcome the characteristics of the American university that presently constrain effective university participation in transforming economic and social institutions. While I believe I perceive some of the problems, I am far from sure what the university should do in overcoming these difficulties. In any case, I address myself both to the problems and to possible ways of overcoming them.

This assignment presumes that the university has a role in transforming economic and social institutions. An entire jungle of issues surrounds such an assumption, but I shall not treat them here.

Let me clear some additional ground by making explicit a few matters that I shall assume as a description of historical and present reality. While some academics do not accept parts of this description as true, these matters have been reasonably well-established. I take as a fact that:

1. The university is an institution of multiple roles which have arisen in response to the needs of society.
2. The public service role of the university is a long legitimized one which is now becoming a university-wide commitment.
3. The university must respond in some responsible manner to the rising pressures for involvement in society's problem solving.
4. The university is now acquiring a responsibility for "lifelong education."
5. As new knowledge has become strategic to economic growth, the university has become an instrument of national purpose.
6. The university has become a major component of the power structure of society.
7. We are today a society of large-scale organizations.

Let me develop each of these assumptions briefly.

1. The university is an institution of multiple roles which have risen in response to the needs of society. Thus, the teaching of theology and the vocational training of priests, the liberal education of a lay elite, the development of the professional schools in law, medicine, engineering, agriculture, business, education, etc., vocational training and mass education for a democratic industrial society, much of the research mission of the modern university: all have arisen out of the needs of the society. Except as a reflection of society's priorities, no one mission is any more intrinsically respectable or legitimate than any other, even if one is several centuries older than another, has more or less direct utility in society, or is held in greater or less esteem by various academic groups.

Professor of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University. He is indebted to L. L. Boger, J. D. Shaffer, L. W. Witt, and L. V. Manderscheid for a critical review of an early draft of this paper.

[1] *For a presentation of some of these issues see Literature Cited (4).*

2. The public service function of the university is a legitimate, historically sanctioned role. Now, in the post-World War II environment, this role is rapidly becoming a university-wide commitment. In the 19th and in the early 20th century, the public affairs commitment was limited to individual units of the university, primarily the professional schools such as business, medicine, and agriculture, with the rest of the university going its own way without such involvement. Today there is a growing belief that responsiveness to the complex problems of an urban environment calls for an across-the-board commitment from the university. An isolated department or college can have limited impact on the problems confronted since such units do not command the required range of expertise [6].

3. The university has no choice but to respond to the pressures for greater involvement in society's attempts to solve its problems. Thus, the university while continuing in its older role as a critic of society is also being asked to be a servant to society. "What troubles American higher education today is the simple fact that it has no choice between these simple alternatives. It must meet both demands. It must serve power and yet make that power humane" [15]. This is a nearly intolerable dilemma.

4. The university is now also acquiring a responsibility for "lifelong education" [2, 14]. The university - and industry - generated acceleration in the rate at which knowledge is created causes a great increase in the rate at which older knowledge grows obsolete. Not only institutions but individuals must now be renewed, to use John Gardner's phrase, possibly several times in a lifetime. This new responsibility comes upon the university while it still is struggling to master its obligations for mass education and to institutionalize and understand its role in public affairs.

5. The university has become an instrument of national purpose as a result of its strategic role in an increasingly knowledge-centered world [9]. As science has been applied to the affairs of man, society's dependence upon tradition in decision making has given way to a systematic application of knowledge. The continuing evolution of modern society progressively stimulates even greater demands for information and knowledge for public and private problem solving and economic growth. The university has become "one of the chief innovative forces in the society. Insofar as economic development is increasingly dependent on research and new knowledge, the role of the university has been enlarged, and it is becoming one of the determinants rather than a passive reflector of social change" [2]. Increasingly, the largest and most strategic economic investment is that made in the human resources and organization that are devoted to problem solving and innovation in the production process. "Today, the economically significant industrial property is not the machine, but the design, and not so much the design as the capacity to innovate design in process and product" [13]. It is the organization of human knowledge and the human capacity to create new knowledge that have become the strategic factors in the processes of production and thus in economic development, local, regional, and national. As a consequence, neither industry nor the state can now survive without the university and its output. Their demands make the university less free than it has ever been in modern times to go its own way.

6. The university has become a major component of the society's power structure. It is now one of the primary institutions of society. It consequently is a seat of influence and power. Its faculties move in and out of industries, foundations, and government as consultants, policy advisers and even decision makers. Public and private, local and regional interests compete both in the market and in the political arena for access to the university's research capacity, now so necessary to the economic growth of organizations and communities. The university is a major recipient of public monies obtained in the political process and in competition with other major claimants. The institutional interdependence of government and higher education is irrevocable, as Daniel Bell points out. "The political system and the university system have become inextricably meshed." And, as a result, "the university has become more vulnerable..." [2].

7. We are today a society of large scale organizations [16]. This is a fact of overpowering significance for any attempt to understand and change social or economic institutions. Wherever one looks, federal and state government, even much of city government; the complex of large corporations, in extractive industry and manufacturing, in transportation and communication, in retailing; the national structure of highly-centralized unions; the trade and professional associations; even the churches and certainly the universities–all are characterized by large bureaucratic organizations. The social order in which we exist has been transformed. We shall explore this a little further in a moment.

These seven matters I accept as factual, my assumptions if you wish. I do not ascribe any goodness or badness to them. They are just realities that I assume must be dealt with in some manner by the university system in any role it may have in social and economic institution change.

Before discussing the constraints of the present university system, I wish to develop some greater perspective. I want to look at some of the implications of a social order dominated by large-scale organization. Secondly, I wish to make a few observations on the nature of a university mission in transforming social and economic institutions. Both have considerable impact on how such a mission might be successfully mounted.

Some Implications of a Social Order Dominated by Large-Scale Organizations[1]

I shall limit my comments on large-scale organizations to two matters: (1) the effect of large-scale organization on human communities, and (2) the exercise of power and decision making in a society in which the social structure is dominated by large-scale organizations.

We are having increasing difficulties in our society in dealing with the needs and problems of human beings as individuals and in communities. Our public and private decision making has been restructured into highly-specialized systems dominated by equally specialized large-scale organizations. These work reasonably well for specialized problem solving, but disastrously fragment the decision making upon which depend the viability and development of human community. We now have specialized national systems of large organizations concerned independently with, for example, housing, highways, welfare, education, public health, etc.

The problem is illustrated by the processes involved in creating more effective highway systems. The specialized national and state highway organizations give little or no consideration to the external effects of their decisions: to the destruction without replacement of low income housing, to the massive congestion of some local areas and the depopulation or isolation of others, and certainly not to the possibility that in some cases mass transit or other forms of transport might be a more desirable alternative. They are concerned with efficient highway building, and external effects are someone else's problem–i.e., the community's. Few of our specialized national systems of decision making, public or private, are capable of integrating their various functions at the community level. As a consequence, a breakdown has occurred in our capacity for community problem solving, and society faces a rising incidence of severe social pathologies, particularly in the fabric of urban life. This generates increasing pressure for university involvement in society's problems.

Large-scale organizations are of necessity bureaucratic structures often manned by specialized professionals. As a result, both of specialization and bureaucracy, large-scale organizations are rarely capable of dealing with people as whole humans, or indeed, even as humans. People are increasingly dealt with as things, objects to be manipulated to some specialized, usually technological, end. A dehumanization of man and of society results. This is evident in the behavior of practically all large-scale organizations, from universities to corporations to the state welfare agencies. One cannot repeal massive social structure changes of this order. We must learn to humanize, to turn to humane use the social order of large-scale organizations–for it is here to stay.

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[1] *This section is developed from ideas originally presented by the author in literature cited [3].*

The forces which have produced this transformation of our social organization have greatly increased the minimum necessary scale of efficient and effective organization. Both communities and organizations, as well as those who would change either, must face this fact squarely.

The change in our social organization is such that the idea of community can no longer be constructed around the notion of physical area. Rather it must be conceived as that collectivity of municipal, county, state, and other public and private jurisdictions and organizations (1) which encompass the minimum bundle of resources and population necessary for viability, and (2) which provide legitimate access to various specialized national, state, and other large-scale organizations necessary to provide the full minimum functions of society required for sustained growth.

Access to the power of decision is of the essence in social problem solving. The power to decide many of the most important aspects of a community's future has moved from the local community to higher aggregates of society and to large-scale organizations–from the local community to state and federal program organizations and to associated committees of the legislature, to the executive suite of a large corporation that controls the major growth factor decisions of subsidiaries in local communities, to national unions, and professional organizations and the universities. The exercise of organized power is today primarily a phenomenon of large-scale organization behavior and is concentrated to a great extent at the national level. Any functional segment of society or any organization that wishes to exercise effective power in its own or another's behalf today must be organized to have access through the national level of social organization. Any local community that wishes to exercise reasonably effective power of decision over its own future must be of sufficient scale and organizational capacity to gain legitimate access at the state, regional, or national level of these many highly specialized and functionally organized decision systems of society.

Observations on the Nature of the University Mission in Transforming Social and Economic Institutions

Let me turn now to some very brief observations on the nature of any university mission in transforming social and economic institutions.

1. This university role necessarily involves a major commitment to problem-solving research and education. The university or someone else must maintain various types of outreach organization to link university output of research and education effectively to the direct action taking of the problem-solving process.

2. The focus of any university outreach organization must be clearly seen as problem solving. University outreach may not be allowed the luxury of subordinating problem solving to professional or disciplinary goals.

3. The problem-solving focus of university outreach must be pragmatic in approach and outlook, if it is to be successful. Execution of a university mission to transform social and economic institutions will not only involve the creation and

extension of relevant knowledge but also action as a catalytic agent in linking (or creating organizations to link) previously not interconnected parts in building problem-solving (or decision) systems. The university's ability to provide neutral ground where contending forces may interact safely is quite critical.

4. This university mission, while primarily educational, is not limited to formal classroom activities, but is devoted to informal education often in the byways of community organization and power.

5. Thus, we academics must face ultimately the clear fact that university outreach is essentially political in its organizational behavior–but with one immense difference. The organized institutional outreach of the university must work for public invisibility in its political activities, and it must maintain the integrity of its educational posture and base. It may not become a politically partisan force. This does not mean that the university may not advocate the primary interests and values of higher education in the political process. The university like any institution is also morally responsible to behave as a good citizen in the daily operations of its corporate business. However, only the faculty are free to profess any belief or position in the political process. The university as an organization may not. Thus, university outreach organizations often may not take credit for their most important achievements since they were obtained in the informal pathways of organizational and political power, in many cases by convincing parties to the process that the ideas injected into the dialogue were really the activist's own brilliant notion and not the university's. Thus, the activist and his organization receive the credit for success. This also protects the university when an effort fails, and the activist or his organization, rather than the university, takes the loser's lumps.

6. The strategies of university outreach and the organizational structures of that outreach must be designed to prevent capture by clientele groups and by political associates. In general, this involves avoiding the creation of specialized independent organizations for individual programs or single objectives. It also involves carefully maintaining public expectations of a pluralism in university organizational and program commitments to society.

7. It is not an intelligent tactic today for the university to hide behind the argument that technological change is neutral in social and economic impact. We have almost invariably hidden behind this argument for protection while pursuing the university's role in creating technological change. However, in a social and economic change role one will be involved in action directly affecting social and economic institutions; in such action it is obvious to all that there will be some losers as well as gainers. The university will have to devise quite different tactics to protect itself while executing this role.

   The universities, in any case, have been irresponsible in hiding behind technology. One might perhaps on occasion use the shield of the neutrality of technological change as a protective political strategy, but one is simultaneously responsible to take into consideration the socioeconomic consequences that almost always occur in implementing a new technology. In failing to do this the universities have become a major source of the external effects discussed earlier which are now destroying man's environment and social systems. No doubt university people can be said to have been invincibly ignorant on these matters. Most who were not have found it convenient to believe their own propaganda about technological change being neutral in socioeconomic impact. Thus, the universities have compounded the problem of a growing disparity between our command over technology and our ability to control its effects on man, his environment, and his society.

8. This leads to another point. It will take very sophisticated strategists and tacticians of societal change to accomplish the social engineering tasks of any university role in transforming social and economic institutions. Far more sophistication and consciousness will be required than in the old role of creating technological change. The university cannot afford outreach structures manned primarily by gut practitioners of the art of social engineering. The university cannot depend on the hit and miss process of on the job experience to provide their only training. University outreach for socioeconomic change must be manned by conscious social engineers.

I do not wish to imply that all university outreach structures or each activity of such an organization will inevitably reflect all of these characteristics before it can attain success. This is an ideal type, if you will. The specific demands of the environment and problems addressed will also vary with differing consequences to appropriate strategies and designs of outreach structures.

Now, let me turn to some of the constraints of the present university system that must be faced in creating any university mission in social and economic institution change.

Problems in Organization of the University System

In every purposive activity function, organizational form and behavior are inextricably bound together. They must constitute a meaningful system or ineffectiveness and disfunction set in.

The organizational form of the university was created in the Middle Ages. There has been little fundamental change in that form, even though the university has added many new roles to its mission. Despite this continuity of form, it is interesting to note that different parts of the academic community today have fundamentally different conceptions of that form. To the faculty the university is simply a community of scholars–a collegium. The administrator and the trustees, however, see the university primarily in terms of its legal form as a corporation. As *loco parentis* dissolves, the students' view of the university increasingly is that of a citizen with a property right purchased by tuition and fees for a contract in which he has the normal rights of specification of what is delivered in satisfying that contract. As costs to the student have become more and more substantial, both students and their parents increasingly view the university in this light. These three groups often find it difficult today to resolve their conflicts of interest. They have very different notions about the form of the university and consequently about their rights in the institution. Groups external to the university hold even different views.

Up until World War I most universities had uncomplicated and lean administrative hierarchies. Most administrators, including the president, also carried academic responsibilities such as teaching. However, highly specialized administrative structures have now developed around the president's office as well as the dean and increasingly even at the departmental level. A substantial number of people are now involved full time in administration in any large university. This is not primarily the result of a grand plot by administrative buccaneers as some faculty seem to believe. It is the consequence of several forces; the now massive and still growing size of student body, service bureaucracy1/ , and

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1/The term service bureaucracy is used to designate the organizations and employees of the university who provide housekeeping and logistical support for the institution. This group now outnumbers the faculty by a wide margin in most institutions.

faculty, the proliferation of university roles, and the criticism by trustees and legislators of lax and poor quality administration in the husbandry of resources. The result is far greater need for a well-developed administrative function in the university.

The university has become a large-scale organization along with many other of the major institutions of the society. The inevitable consequence is that the university is now a bureaucracy. Not only are its administrative and internal service functions so executed, but the faculty in organization and behavior is now a bureaucracy. The university has not yet solved its problem of bureaucracy. Not only has its faculty, particularly, not come to terms with the necessity for a major administrative function, but it has yet to learn to accept in its organizational affairs a matching of authority with responsibility. This is imperative in contending with the organizational fragmentation that follows from specialization in any bureaucracy.

Compounding the problem of bureaucracy is the changing role of the university professor and the drift of his allegiance from his institution to his discipline and profession. The alienation of the loyalties of university professors has been well described by others [9, 12]. "Twentieth century professional associations are fundamentally guilds in form as well as function" [7]. A new rise of the guilds is eroding the integrity of the university. Our most prestigious professional groups are evolving into a position similar to that of the guilds of the Middle Ages--self-regulating bodies which stabilized and eventually helped stultify medieval society in a smug, lifeless elitism and social homeostasis [10]. These rigidities and internal barriers tend to prevent adequate organizational response. Who in the university can discuss in a responsible fashion with the community the interaction of highways, low-income housing, jobs, education, and race relations that intersect in the problem-solving focus on any one of these dimensions of the urban problem?

In evolving our organizational forms in the university, we not only created specialized and highly differentiated subunits, we professionalized them as well. This undoubtedly was necessary, but it has accentuated the relative isolation of man and knowledge and organization one from another within the university. It has diluted, if not subverted, the loyalty of faculty to the university, their college and department, and it has made progressively more difficult, if not often impossible, the periodic need to mobilize adequate research resources into a problem-solving focus. The intense demands for high-quality academics generated by the great growth of higher education accentuates the effects of professionalization of discipline by providing the individual faculty member with far greater mobility, new roles, and more independence than he has ever previously experienced.

I described earlier the great change that has occurred in the minimum scale of effective institutional relationships in our society today. This has immense consequences for the university. The university was never self-sufficient as a community, but it could previously afford the luxury of believing so. This is no longer the case, for the university is not an adequate unit in either scale or function. It used to be that a university was a replication with only minor variations of every other university. Each attempted to command the full range of all knowledge. The explosive growth of knowledge under the impact of science and society's devotion of far larger amounts of resources to the creation of new knowledge, now makes it impossible for any university to be expert on everything. At the same time the minimum resource needs for true excellence in any one discipline have become so immense, particularly in the case of hard science, that it is a clear impossibility for every university to own facilities of such scale. Perkins describes this vividly in portraying the escalation in hardware costs and the resulting institutional competition in high energy physics research [12].

This is not just a problem of the physical and biological sciences. In the humanities large scale computer requirements must be faced in linguistic and other research. In the social sciences, increasingly the nature of the problems addressed are of such immense scope that no one university commands sufficient knowledge to address itself systematically to the whole of the problem. Society is now asking the university to solve or help solve the urban problem. Few, if any, universities have a range of resources and expertise adequate for a coordinated assault on the problem. In addition, many university faculty depreciate and refuse to work on "practical" or problem-solving research, restricting further the resources available for such purposes within the university. As a consequence, public resources devoted to research on society's problems increasingly are going into governmental and private institutes for applied research.[1]

If the university is unable or refuses to work on the problems of society, society has little choice but to put its problem solving and applied research and educational resources into other institutional arrangements, such as public and private research institutes and the action agencies of government. If this approach should become the general institutional pattern for the research input of societal problem solving it would not be long before most of society's investment in applied, and perhaps even basic, research was channeled through these other institutions, leaving the university a weak competitor for research scholars and possibly stripping the university of its role as society's primary knowledge center. This clearly will be the outcome unless the universities can create cooperatively among themselves new institutional arrangements of sufficient scale and organizational capacity to handle at least some of these urgent problems. There are some efforts underway to create new regional forms of intra-university organization. The effort is late and the commitment often inadequate to meet this challenge to the university as the primary institutional form through which knowledge is created.

Out of the more than 2,000 varied institutions of higher learning in this nation, there is evolving a system of higher education. Much like the individual community, the individual university is losing its power of independent decision. Independence is being eroded by specialization and greatly increased minimum effective scale of organization. The growth of state-wide boards of higher education are symptomatic of these pressures and the fact that resources are always limited. There is often little the individual university can do to stem this tide that is eroding their institutional freedom; but collectively, they still have the power to decide the direction and form of the national system of higher education.

Sir Eric Ashby argues that we must consciously create a national system if we are to assure any reasonable degree of the autonomy necessary to the very nature of an individual university [1].

> I doubt whether...statutory autonomy will protect...against the harsh wind of politics between now and the year 2000. There is no security in...fragmented autonomy...what we need is...an autonomous system which retains freedom for diversity within itself but which constitutes an 'intellectual estate'; inevitably dependent on government for funds, but strong enough to secure by collective bargaining the conditions necessary to fulfill its function in society.

Ashby points out that such an interdependent system would require "more central control and less peripheral anarchy within individual universities." Ashby is arguing that for any power of decision over its own future the university must have effective access to society's political decision making, and that the universities' behavior in the public decision process must be organized, purposive, and responsible.

[1] *A good example of this is the federally financed Urban Institute established under the direction of William Gorham last year in Washington, D. C. It is designed on the model of the Rand Corporation to work on the problems we face in urban life.*

There is a closely related matter which pushes the university in the same direction. Consciously directed university outreach to accomplish social and economic institutional change must be linked into society's decision systems. This often requires greater scale of operation and more centralization of university decision making than many universities have yet experienced.

In the present situation the role of leadership is critical. This is true in both the faculty and the administration. The quality of administrative leadership is critical because the university administration inevitably retains executive responsibility and the external pressures for purposive all-university decisions make the administrative role one of increasing intrinsic importance to the survival and effectiveness of the university. The quality of the leadership is strategic because the faculty holds the balance of power between the administration and most outside forces, and certainly between the administrator and other inside forces such as the students and the administrative and service bureaucracy. University administrative and faculty leadership and, if you will, the bureaucracy of higher education, must show a greater willingness to accept new organizational forms and innovation in the life of their institutions. Certainly they must cease to resent all changes suggested from outside the university. They must recognize that historically major changes in the university almost always have come from without [9].

Problems in Function, Behavior, and Expectations of the University System

The idea of the university is under great stress today. It often appears that almost everyone is trying to subvert it, both from within and without. Society seems bent on turning the university into another conventional production unit of the economic and social system. Inside, the idea of the university is in intellectual and sometimes civil and administrative chaos. A new generation of student and faculty activists is attempting to transform the concept of the academic freedom of the individual to profess any belief or value into an obligation of the university as an institution to commit itself to a position in social, economic, and moral disputes (i.e., Vietnam, civil rights, etc.). This is a dangerous self-defeating idea. In its most shrill form it carries the interesting anti-intellectual assertion that anyone who does not agree with the activist does not have the right of free speech. This is hardly an adequate notion of freedom, academic or otherwise, and can destroy what little community is left to academia. I trust that this lack of respect for intellectual integrity and for other's rights will not prevail in the academy.

The mind set of the nonactivist faculty is often not much more constructive. College professors are becoming some of the most ethnocentric and culture bound examples of the genus bureaucrat. They frequently vacillate in an irresponsible fashion between thoughtless bureaucratic resistance to any change, and equally thoughtless and impulsive acts in faculty senates. Even more mischief is generated by faculty beliefs that are grossly inconsistent with the reality of the university and its environment. Let me give you some examples.

Many faculty consider all administrative activities to have zero productivity both intrinsically and professionally. At the same time they insist on faculty participation in university decision making from the lowest to the highest level. As the recent quantitative study of faculty attitudes by Dykes put it, "Asserting that faculty participation is essential, they placed participation at the bottom of their professional priority list and depreciated their colleagues who do participate. Reluctant to assume the burden of guiding institutional affairs, they seemed unwilling to accord others the responsibility for doing so. And, while quick to assert their right to participate, they recognize less quickly the duties participation entails." The author concludes "If they are unwilling to assume the burden of participation, they must recognize that control over academic affairs will shift into the hands of others." Clearly, academics cannot have it both ways, but that is what they wish and apparently believe possible [5].

The same study records a whole series of very naive faculty notions about university governance. These start with the idea that the university can be managed on a model of a New England town meeting. This is coupled with a distrust of the representative techniques of government which are clearly necessary in a large, complex university if the faculty is to have any effective voice. Many academics also seem to suffer the illusion that 19th century colleges and universities were collegial democracies when in reality they were hierarchic and governed in a most autocratic manner. Thus, many "faculty measure their role in decision making today against a romanticized perception of the past" [5].

Many faculty, even whole departments and colleges, pride themselves in an exclusive dedication to nonmission-oriented research. This attitude dominates the priorities, and the status and reward systems of the university. In its most extreme form it ignores the creative interface between thought and action. In its extreme form it mitigates greatly against good teaching, university involvement in applied or mission-oriented research and in many of the activities that would follow from a commitment to the society for lifelong education, or for societal problem solving. Yet, the university must somehow cut out a role in each of these areas that is sufficiently satisfying to society that the university can survive in a form reasonably acceptable to all involved. It clearly cannot survive by rejecting all societal involvement. Despite the fact that they are directly sustained by the political processes, most faculty refuse to recognize the political nature of the university as an institution.1/ They refuse to respect it as a fact.

One of the most unproductive notions in faculty attitudes, which is to some extent shared by administrators, is the idea that faculty-administrative relationships are essentially zero sum games in which anything one gains necessarily is a loss to the other. Faculty members and administrators are perceived as adversaries competing for a limited quantity of power or influence. This is a naive notion of the reality in a modern American university where the capacity for executive initiative can lead to substantially greater command over resources for faculty use. While there are examples of malignant behavior and there are some intrinsically competitive relationships, faculty and administrative power depend in a considerable measure upon each other. An adversary approach to the relationship between faculty and administration will inevitably erode the power and influence of both groups as well as their institution.

Another interesting contradiction which the Dykes' study documents is a great discrepancy between the faculty's perception of its role in decision making in the university and the reality of that role. Faculty consistently lamented their lack of involvement in decisions when, in fact, the faculty had been intimately involved. "The administration was often criticized for failing to consult with the faculty when in fact the faculty had been consulted." "Criticisms were often voiced that decisions had not been taken through proper channels when both protocol and university statutes had been followed scrupulously." Such lack of understanding of the procedures of their own community and failures in communication result in widespread suspicion and distrust. The study reported that "many proudly recounted how long it had been since they had attended a meeting of the faculty at any level, and prolonged absence from faculty meetings was for some a mark of distinction. Yet, all of them decried their lack of information and were quick to criticize the administration for its 'subterfuge' " [5].

I have discussed elsewhere the distinctive systems of norms that dominate university life [3]. Let me summarize these for you for I think they are useful in perceiving how different norms reinforce differing organizational types and functions. There are at least

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1/The private institution is less constrained but as public funds come to constitute a major source of its funds, the distinction of its relative isolation from the political decision process fades.

three quite distinct major sets of norms. The first of these are the norms of vocationalism that focus on employment and occupation. The second set of norms are those of the academic, of science, and of scholarship--that is, a dedication to the creation of new knowledge, to the pursuit of truth, and to "the life of the mind." The third set of norms are those of professionalism which focus on the professionalization of occupational practices and which value uppermost standards, behavior, and organization. Each of these normative systems is to be found in practically all parts of the university in varying mixtures. They have contributed some very positive and some very negative burdens to our university life.

The academic norms of science and humanistic scholarship attach ultimate value to knowledge, particularly the search for new knowledge--irrespective of its social relevance. There is little concern for application or extension of knowledge to the problems of society. It is very easy with such norms to pursue science or scholarship purely for its own sake and to retreat into an ivory tower prideful of its lack of relevance to the outside world. The university must have its ivory towers if progress is to be made in pure science and scholarship, but they may not be allowed to monopolize the research landscape.

While professionalism has created local and national communities of interest for disciplines and specialized departments and aided in the establishment of higher minimum standards for many of the applied areas of knowledge, professionalism tends often to reward the organization man rather than the scientist or scholar. "The modern professional is an organization man," for "professions are more and more practiced in organizations" [8]. Professionalism introduces into the academic environment of the university an intellectual parochialism and often a gross confusion of objectives. It substitutes "professional activities" for scholarly and scientific endeavor and application. It tends to reward virtuosity and the application of the profession's primary tools and discourages pragmatic problem solving. Many faculty, often disastrously, confuse the norms of professionalism with academic norms.

Particularly in many of the professional schools vocational norms are evident as well as professional and academic norms. Vocationalism sets before itself as a norm the improvement of the welfare and social status of an occupation or some commercial or industrial employment as a vocation. It seeks to accomplish this through research to solve the practical problems of industry or the commercial area and through training of youth for vocation in that area. The forces of vocation are utterly pragmatic in outlook. Vocationalism generally has accomplished little without the application of science to its problems even though vocationalists are usually staunchly anti-intellectual by instinct. The beginnings of the investment in mass education which were to be of such great importance for economic growth found much of their early support in vocationalism. However, it has to be said that the single-minded protagonist of vocationalism was usually led by his overwhelming pragmatism to an anti-intellectual outlook. The peculiarly persistent anti-intellectualism that survives within the academy has its origin in this set of norms. All three of these norms may usually be found in any college of the university. They exist in different mixes as a consequence of the different objectives, organization, and histories of the colleges.

Today, discussions of objectives, organization change, and norms of behavior in the university are badly disordered by unrecognized or unrespected differences in the mix of these norms to which various individuals and subunits of the university must adhere for individual sanity and organizational success. If faculties are going to respond to the challenge of constructing a university role in the transformation of social and economic institutions, they will have to grow far more conscious of the diversity of norms that underlie behavior within the university. They must be conscious of and learn to respect each of these norms because each has relevance in sustaining one or another of the historical roles of the university.

Overcoming the Constraints

I warned the organizers of this seminar that while I thought I knew what some of the problems were and had lots of questions, I was not sure of very many answers. However, let me try my hand at a few positive suggestions about what we must begin to do, if we are to be successful in mounting university outreach structures for the purpose of affecting social and economic institutional change.

One of the first things that must be looked to is the reward system of the university. The reward system must be related to the objectives of the program and organization, if expectations are to be structured and reinforced at a level adequate for organizational success. The university has great difficulty rewarding the kind of political and organizational skills needed badly in any social engineering role when they exist in a person without major academic standing. One could point endlessly to other problems, as for example inducing disciplinary departments to contribute their capacity to a social action situation when the reward system of the department is limited entirely to basic research and its publication. The complexities of this problem are endless for the specifics of reward systems are related to the environment and the particular organizational objectives that are postulated.

I suppose it goes without saying that since the university is a bureaucratic structure, it must use every bureaucratic tool at its command to improve efficiency of communication and organizational effectiveness. Many of the administrative changes that are going on now have been described by O'Rourke [11]. The sensitivity to environment and knowledge of the reality of that environment on the part of both administrators and faculty needs greatly to be improved. Internal learning devices must be developed and resources devoted to sustaining them. Probably both administrative leadership as well as elected faculty leadership must devote more energy to communication with students and the service and academic bureaucracies. The forms and occasions for this communication must yet be generated. Certainly one thing that could be done is to provide, if not require, seminars on the nature and processes of the university for all new faculty. I realize that every new Ph.D. springs fully formed and perfect from the womb of some major professor's mind, but somehow or other we have to improve on this. The learning experiences required of a Ph.D. candidate should be reexamined and altered so the next generation bears a lighter weight of mythologies in their beliefs.

Out of all of this I would hope that the faculty could learn to live with itself in a more civil manner. I really do not believe that arrogance breeds academic excellence. The faculty is simply going to have to learn to live in a pluralistic institutional environment where specialized and multiple roles are characteristic and in which some minimum respect by one role incumbent of another is necessary if the university as an organization is to survive or adapt to new roles.

I think if I were responsible for university outreach in the socioeconomic area that I would spend a great deal of time worrying about the kinds of expectations that I was creating as I made decisions. The university already faces staggering strains as a result of the "revolution of rising expectations" of what the university can do in society. The university has limited resources and capacity. The university is not a surrogate for society. University clientele, political and business associates, its faculty, its students, and their parents must not be allowed to think that the university exists solely for their purposes. Obviously some reeducation is already necessary. The expectation of an exclusive clientele relationship is a serious threat to any pluralistic organization.

Clearly the university will not accomplish anything in the transformation of social and economic institutions simply by doing research and hoping someone will apply it. Specialized outreach structures must be organized either by the university, by clients, by the private business sector, or by government. In many cases, particularly where a new and innovative process is being extended, there can be no substitute for a university outreach organization. In fact, the purpose of the university in societal problem solving probably should be restricted to innovative and experimental programs and purposes. Once a problem-solving system has been perfected and can be operated in some other way, it should be spun off to public agencies or to private organizations. Some forethought should be given to this process or the choice will not be left to the university. The program and processes will be co-opted by other actors in the scene or the university forced to retain them against its own better judgment, if these matters are not, in some degree, thought through in advance.

University outreach must be led by, and in the hands of skilled political operators. It cannot otherwise succeed. Yet, I do not think the university can simply draft this expertise from the outside. We must train our own for they have to bridge the gap between academic organization, purposes, and ideas, and the political processes of the community. They must be trained to a level of consciousness in these skills that presently does not prevail as a general matter even in extension organizations.

The breakdown in human community and the massive evidence of externality in the public and private decision processes of this society are eloquent testimony to the fact that our ability to create technical change has outrun our capacity for social invention to accommodate that change–without destroying man, his natural environment or his society. The potential capacity for redressing this imbalance between our knowledge of science and technology and our knowledge of man and his social systems is found primarily in the university. However great the obstacles, it is urgent that the university get on with the business of closing this gap.

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THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

Otto Kerner*

As a long-time active participant in social and political institutions, I think universities can play a very critical role, perhaps even the critical role in the development of society in the future. I think Daniel Bell put it even more strongly, and I tend to agree with him, when he said, "Perhaps it is not too much to say that, if the business firm was the key institution of the past hundred years because of its role in organizing production for the mass creation of products the university will become the central institution of the next 100 years because of its role as the new source of innovation and knowledge."

In considering how universities should relate to the problems of society, let me say at the outset that I do not see myself coming here as a new Messiah, with heretofore undiscovered truths. There has been, as we all know, a great deal of time and careful thought already given to the problems that we are exploring here today. What I would like to do is to present my list of priorities, to discuss the role and the contribution that universities are singularly adapted to make, duties which in my opinion no other societal organization can carry out.

I think far and away the single most important thing that the university needs to do is to educate the public in the art of thinking and what to think about. It has become evident, not just from events in this country, but from happenings abroad, that people are not going to be content to "leave it to the experts." They are going to want to make society's decisions, decisions on war, education, race relations, on everything. The question then arises on what basis will they make their decision? How will they arrive at their conclusions? The tremendous growth we are now witnessing of a third party, whose leader had said that if elected he would throw the experts and their briefcases in the Potomac, is excellent evidence that a large segment of the public is not informed as to the nature of the society in which it lives, is not informed about the ways in which society will develop, and doesn't know how to think rationally about either. While racial attitudes have indeed given Mr. Wallace his initial appeal, I believe that his wide-spread support is coming from the people who are distressed and distrubed by the problems around them, who are unable to assess correctly the significance of the assorted group reactions to these problems. It was after all only with education that man began to understand that such natural manifestations as storms and eclipses were not by direct orders of angry godlings determined to destroy them. It is similarly necessary, and I would say that events are making it crucial, that today's public understands that many of the demonstrations and the stirrings going on around them are not imminent portents of social disaster but rather, in the final analysis, encouraging signs. They are indications of availability of outlets for public expression of dissatisfaction, outlets which can prevent the build-up of either paralyzing apathy or of revolutionary dissention.

It is by now axiomatic that in a changing world a static society is a doomed society. Society needs self-renewal, not self-satisfaction. If occasionally this self-renewal comes in packages that are somewhat distasteful, we can blame ourselves for not providing means for change that would entail less friction. Abrasive and disturbing as were the riots in 1967, annoying as are the excesses of students then and now, these are not the actions that will bring down our civilization in ruins. The real danger lies in the attempts of people who would smother these stirrings without attempting to correct the conditions which led to dissent. The real danger lies in the efforts of those who would preserve inviolate and unquestioningly the status quo. And the root of these dangers lies in a public which is uninformed and untrained to inform itself objectively, and therefore vulnerable to demogogic explanations, appeals and solutions.

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If objective thinking, if purposely worrying are then to become attributes of all people, and it is my firm conviction that this is the only long-term way for society's preservation and development–what should they think and worry about? I suggest they must think about the nature of the society in which they live. They must think about change–what is it and how does it come about? They must worry about the kinds of change, desirable versus undesirable, and means of change, desirable versus undesirable. This, of course, is a massive charge. Obviously, I can touch on only a few highlights here and suggest again in just the broadest terms how the universities might carry it out.

The first thing we must note about the society in which we live is that it is a technological one. But a technological society is not, contrary to popular belief, necessarily or by definition a changing society; it merely creates opportunities for change. As these opportunities are taken up, a new mix of social options, generally, but not always, becomes available. Even more important is the fact that new technology sometimes removes some of the options previously available. It is in this area that much of the social explosive lies.

There are many examples of this. A major one with which we are all familiar is the effect of improved agricultural technology. It has resulted in greatly enhanced productivity but at the same time removed one of the options previously available and that is the use of hand labor for much of agricultural production. Society then had and has the difficult problem of absorbing the surplus of agricultural workers. Another example arises with the use of supermarkets and the retailing of food. Some results have been very good, such as greatly increased choice of product and better foods at lower cost. But one price paid is the obsolescence of the Ma and Pa food stores. This way of making a living is now only a trivial and insignificant opportunity for enterprising, small-capital, would-be entrepreneurs.

Patterns of Change

Thinking about changes wrought by specific technological improvement is not enough. We must think also about patterns of change. The sheer fact of change alters our sensibilities and our ideas, our institutions and practices, for many of these are based on the assumption that stability is the normal characteristic of the world--change being simply a temporary perturbing force. What happens to our ideas and values, institutions and practices, when change becomes the natural state of affairs and stability becomes the aberrant? I raise this question not to answer it. For one thing I'm not able. It is to point up the fact that thinking about change is not a simple matter of thinking about innovation versus rigidity, but rather a highly complicated one in which the effects of one change must be considered not only in their own right but as they affect the results of other change now and to come, and so on and on, ad infinitum. If we skimmed a great many pebbles into a lake at one time, and watched how one set of ripples affected another set, how in turn the second set altered yet a third, we'd begin to understand the interplay that technological and other changes have upon society.

This necessity to think about the essentials of technological change and, by the way, when I say technological change I also mean to include managerial and organizational change, in terms not only of its primary effect but of its secondary and even its tertiary effect, is the rationale for the study of "futurology." This is the study that universities must be prepared to advocate, to offer widely, and to support with a pool of their resources. This is what I believe to be the major emerging role of the universities, and the one which they alone can play. It is this duty which, if carried out effectively, will make universities the key institutions of the future.

There is some excellent work now going on in a few universities in preparation for this responsibility. For example, at the University of Illinois the "Mankind 2000" project has a group of scholars working on the techniques of evolving large numbers of the public in planning for the future. You know, as I say that I think back in 1961 when I assumed the position of governor of this state, when I wanted to establish with the general assembly's approval a thinking group, a planning group. I called it "a capital planning group" to think ahead, because we have the talent in this state, not only in our universities, but in our business houses and industries. People could look ahead 25, 50 or 100 years so that in our development of universities, highways, industries, hospitals or schools, we would know best where to locate them. You know in all my years in Springfield I was unable to get the General Assembly to establish such a group. You can imagine how frustrating this could be, because in government we do so many things on an emergency basis–after the crisis has arisen–rather than in the sensible way.

I'm very much in favor of this idea of "Mankind 2000". It fits in precisely with what I think should be done. One of the techniques being considered is a permanent exhibition, with smaller versions going on tour, which would predict future technological change. Show the choices that they offer: teaching machines, role-playing, and participative social planning for a model state are the kinds of things being considered. This kind of effort doubled and tripled in the amount of resource devoted to it must be duplicated in every major university in the country. People talk about new cities being established and demolishing the old. This is not very practical, is it? Yet it seems to be the only sensible thing that has been offered recently.

Now let us turn to that even more important area, developing university responsibility, the "how" of thinking. Emmanual Nesping, director of the Harvard University program on technology and society, and one of the country's top thinkers on the effects of technological change, says "Education has traditionally had the function of preparing youth to assume full membership in society, (1) by implanting a sense for the history and accumulative knowledge of the race, (2) by imbuing the youth with a sense of the culture, the mores, the practices, and the values of the group, and (3) by teaching a skill or set of skills necessary to a productive social role. Philosophies of education have accordingly been elaborated on the assumption of stability of values and mores, and on the up-to-now demonstrable principle that one good set of skills, well learned, could serve a man through a productive lifetime." And how untrue this statement is.

He goes on, however, to point out that this is no longer true, that not only has the technological change brought about a greater alteration in the outward aspects of society, but that even individual values and goals are no longer stable. One reason is that technological change alters the relative cost and the ease of achieving and maintaining them. One good example is the achievement of material comforts, now far easier to accomplish than previously. But the values inherent in continuity of life in one community, how much more difficult than formerly to achieve and maintain, how much more costly in terms of sacrifice and professional or business advancement.

This, in my opinion, has significant implications for education. Teaching for life in a stable society must give way to teaching for life in a changing society. There needs to be much greater emphasis now on analytical thinking and evaluation. Universities in particular need to concentrate much more than formerly on developing their students' capacity for critical and objective thinking, for reflective and scientific understanding. More instruction in the potentialities and utilization of modern intellectual tools will be necessary, with much less stress on development of proficiency for any given one. Less study will be needed on the products of earlier innovation, and more study of the innovative process.

Specialist and the World

None of this is to suggest that universities have forced themselves from providing knowledge. We need continuity with the past. I don't really think, however, we need fear over-reaction by the universities in this regard. By definition, they are the society's repository of knowledge. By inclination, universities look to the past. The problem will be how to get them, and I mean all the universities and not just the astute few, to spend as much of their resources on the future as they do on the past. At this point someone might well say, "Are you suggesting that higher education institutions stop education in depth, stop developing specialists and turn out only generalists?" No, I'm not suggesting anything of that sort. The highest competence in any area can be achieved only be intensive study, by deep and narrow cultivation of a particular knowledge. I am suggesting that all the university-educated, including specialists, will have to consciously retain an open-mindedness about innovation–an awareness of possible, even probable, changes in the relationships between their specialities and the rest of the world.

I recall I visited an old friend back in Cambridge in '65, and he'd been knighted since I'd been there at college. Mrs. Kerner, like most Americans, visited Oxford, which I think is a horrid place and Cambridge is so beautiful. I wanted to see it appreciated. My photographer was with me and took a picture, and Sir James stopped and said, "What are you going to do with that picture?" I said, "Well, Sir James, that's only for my personal and private use." And he said, "Oh, that's quite all right; I thought you were going to use it publicly." You know this old idea that the university was completely remote from the community and the outside world, which was the old idea of a university, as so many of us know.

The university no longer exists in that kind of a vacuum. That's basically what I'm saying here. We have a responsibility to the public, and universities have a particular responsibility to the communities in which they exist. They must assume that responsibility. As I say it's no longer desirable, for example, for a student of dead and as yet undeciphered languages to retire into his cell and shut off the rest of the world. That just won't work anymore. He needs to be aware of the growing potential of computers, to discover the tremendous speed that they can apply to the trial and error approach. Perhaps this is the time to state that I am not sufficiently naive, perhaps I should be, to suggest that all people can and will participate in such learning, nor do I believe that, even for those who do, there will be a total substitution of reason for irrationality or prejudice. I do suggest that society viabilities are dependent upon an increase in the proportion of adults and near adults able to make balanced and knowledgeable judgments on social options. And since such intellectual competence is unlike sin, and does not come naturally, one must look to the educational institutions to instill it.

I do not think this will be an easy job for the universities to do. On the contrary, I suspect the retooling job on curriculum organization and personal attitudes is one which we laymen will tend to underestimate. But I believe that this new responsibility would be a rewarding assignment starting at the exploratory stage.

Since the first order of business to carry out this new duty would be the development of effective techniques to teach the public how to think analytically and objectively about change, and since this cannot be done in a vacuum, this development work could be added as a new dimension to a project many universities are already carrying on. This includes most work on examining the ills that beset society, problems of unemployment, housing, water, air pollution, common school education, inner-city transportation, race relations, and a host of others. Having this new study would practically by definition entail greater community contact and involvement. I suggest that from the ideas and attitudes of people in contact with universities at this time will come considerable stimulus in developing innovative solutions to community problems. I predict that the universities will find a growing appreciation of the work they do, and of their staff personnel from these new contacts. And I finally suggest that the university will find some unexpected sources of strength in this new responsibility, arising from their active role in solving community problems, not just identifying them.

It used to be said about universities that they are full of knowledge; the freshmen bring a little in, the seniors take none away, and knowledge accumulates. It's about time to open the gates and let some of it seep back where it's needed.

STRATEGIES FOR INVOLVING THE PUBLICS

C.B. Ratchford*

My topic, narrowly defined, could be construed to mean coming up with a "bag of tricks" for getting public involvement. There is no bag of tricks, and such are not necessary. The majority of those who can actually change political and social institutions want to make the institutions relevant and efficient. They will even take time to go to school, read, or do whatever else is necessary to get the information that will help obtain this objective. Obviously there are some individuals and some institutions that are dedicated to maintaining the status quo; but I maintain that the majority want to be relevant. If one starts with this assumption, it is not necessary to have a "carrot" to get involvement. If this assumption is rejected, then everything in this talk is irrelevant.

There are three broad publics that can secure institutional change. While an institution is impersonal, the decisions which change it are made by people. The first public includes the people in leadership roles in the institutions–the officers, officials, employees, boards, etc. This is the group that has the power to immediately change the patterns of institutions. The second public includes those individuals who hold no official position, but are the ones behind the scenes. They are known variously as the influentials, the back-room guys, the kingmakers, etc. The third includes the citizens at large. This is a large, hard to reach, hard to influence group. Yet it must be included as a target public, because they can block action proposed by the leaders and in some cases are the ones who must actually initiate action that transforms the political and social institutions.

Ideally all groups should be worked with simultaneously, which is possible even with limited resources if there is a specific problem or issue in a small area. From a practical point of view more is usually accomplished by devoting the limited resources to the first two groups–the visible and the behind-the-scenes leaders. My assumption of giving priority to the first two groups relates to an earlier assumption that these people want to make their institutions relevant.

I have listed twelve strategies for being effective and the numbering does not reflect any priority in terms of importance.

The first strategy is determining and articulating internally and externally the role the university intends to play in bringing about institutional change. This has never been done to my knowledge. Individuals have; a few departments have; an agriculture school may have; but not a total university. The need is so obvious that I feel like apologizing for mentioning it. From the internal point of view the lack of such a statement compounds the confusion, results in throwing another job on top of already heavy loads, and going it blind which means that any worthwhile results are accidental.

It is also important that the clientele know what to expect from the university. The leaders, particularly in the cities, have some very strong feelings about universities and all are not complimentary. There is considerable lack of respect, skepticism, and some actual hostility. These feelings are largely justified because the universities have not delivered in the past on some rather grand promises. We are accused of prying and meddling, and the university as a whole often has not been a good citizen in the community. The rural areas and our traditional clientele are even more unhappy than the city people about the land-grant university moving into this program area, partially because they think we might get something done and they are afraid of the apple cart being upset.

**Vice President for Extension, University of Missouri*

The statement of role must be more specific than stating an intent to do research and education, which is like being for motherhood and God. I feel we take a problem-solving approach, and within this approach select the big hard problems such as integration, housing, social unrest, transportation, and the organization of the community. Further the university must decide how far it goes–more specifically, how close it gets to action. I find myself agreeing with Roger Haynes. He indicates that it is completely inappropriate for the university to be an instrument for direct social action; but activities of the university can be the motivator of important action. I fear that the universities have erred by staying too far from the action.

Let me try to explain the proper role by two examples. In working on the problem of slum housing it would be inappropriate for the university to organize a rent strike, but it would be most appropriate to advise the slum dwellers on alternative courses of action, one being a rent strike. In the area of racial integration it would be inappropriate for the university to organize a demonstration against racial discrimination, but certainly it should tell of the consequences of segregation and the possible courses of action to improve the situation. The proper role of the university is a finder of alternatives, a disseminator of information, a prodder, counselor, evaluator and critic, and we need to serve in all these roles simultaneously.

Long Term Commitment

The second strategy deals with the university's commitment to the work. Without firm commitment, worthwhile efforts will be almost accidental and will depend on the interests and whims of individual faculty members. The efforts will be fragmented which will further increase mistrust in the university. It is the job of another speaker to describe how we get this commitment, but having it is a key strategy.

Three groups–administration, faculty, and board–must be party to the commitment. It must be firm enough to weather the criticism that will certainly come; it must be long-term; and it must include an allocation of some resources. Incidentally, I think we have frightened the board and administration by talking about the massive resources required to do the job we are discussing. An optimum effort would take massive resources, but with fairly modest resources a significant effort can be mounted.

The third strategy relates to internal organization. The university must so organize itself internally that the objectives can be achieved and the publics are not further confused which, as I have mentioned before, must be avoided. I will not try to describe the ideal organization; indeed, there is no such animal. The pattern should vary from institution to institution, but at least three minimum conditions must be met. The first is the ability to draw on many disciplines located in all of the colleges of the university. In yesterday's discussions everyone agreed that this was necessary but it is obviously difficult to achieve. The second condition is the ability to coordinate the many activities into a meaningful whole. The job requires a wide variety of activities but they must all contribute to the total objective in an orderly manner. The third condition is the need for a direct and immediate relationship between research and educational efforts of the university. Everyone accepts this in principle but no university has yet achieved the interface I think we need.

The fourth strategy is having a long-range program. While this is obvious, I put this on the list because I know of no university that has done it, and further I believe this is a major factor for whatever lack of success we have achieved to date. Efforts have been largely a series of unrelated activities, often conducted in response to a request from a specific public. The elements of a long-range plan are easy to list. It includes specific objectives, target publics, curriculum, teachers, methods, and a calendar. Most faculty members have been involved in departmental curriculum revisions and university long-range planning efforts, and realize the difficulties of planning within a university. Planning the type of program under discussion is even more difficult because it is "new ground" for most of the faculty, yet it must be developed to a major extent by the faculty. The fact that it must be inter-disciplinary and inter-college makes the task much more difficult. It was mentioned several times yesterday that continuity is essential, and a long-range plan is the key to continuity. While a specific long-range plan is necessary, revision must start the day it is finished. Revising is a lot different, however, from abandoning.

The fifth strategy, which is also obvious and simple to state, is having the program relevant. Lack of relevance is the cause of much of the criticism leveled at the university and it is largely justified. There are two facets to the relevance question. The first is working on the truly important problems. Resentment is built by asking people to spend time on what they think is unimportant. I realize that the major "felt" problems may not be the truly important ones, but this poses no problem for the experienced extension worker. It means that he starts at a different point in the educational process. It is also possible that there is a difference of opinion about what is truly important, but there will be no criticism of lack of relevance as long as the discussion is concerned with the relative importance of problems.

The second facet of relevance relates to the approach. The approach followed to a large extent in agriculture was to tell the people we had the answers. We had some cause to believe this, because experiments had been carefully conducted and replicated. This approach must be rejected when operating with social and political institutions. The target audiences feel that they know a great deal more about the problem than the university–and many do. There will be little "hard data" derived from research. The relevant approach is taking the attitude that the university does have some useful information; it can serve as a catalyst for bringing different groups together; and it can serve a legitimizing role. Some of the leaders who want to make changes, who are afraid they will be voted out of office if they do, can say that the university said a particular course of action had merit.

The sixth strategy relates to personnel. The success of any research and education program depends upon the quality of personnel. The sensitive job of working to bring about institutional change requires the very best personnel. They must be well trained in their discipline, be able to teach, and have a sensitivity to people and the environment in which they operate. Practically every discipline in the University needs to be represented on the team, but a relatively large share will need training in the social and behavioral sciences.

Campus and Field Personnel

Since the points just made are self-evident, I will devote most of my comments to organization of the personnel. Although the universities have not had extensive experience in the field of institutional change, there is sufficient experience to give some guidelines. Personnel are needed on the campus and in the field, with the mix being quite different from the pattern followed by Cooperative Extension in agriculture and home economics. There will be a relatively larger number on campus in relation to the number in the field. The campus-based personnel should be members of a regular academic department and not isolated in some center, institute or academically isolated Extension unit. A tie to the regular academic departments is urged, because the mission must become part of the warp and woof of the total university. Incidentally, this view is not criticizing the University of Wisconsin structure, which has created its own academic homes.

A field staff is needed to perform several roles that the campus-based staff either cannot or will not do at all or do efficiently. There is a need for someone who is close to the social and political institutions, who interprets their needs to the campus-based staff and who adapts the generalized information to the specific problems. Another role is to follow through and prod. It appears that one thing that made the County Agent effective in agriculture was his continously talking to the farmers and dropping by week after week and asking, "Have you tried that yet?". After several such encounters the farmer would usually try the new idea. Experience is indicating that a similar role is important in changing institutions. Still another role of the field staff is to pull the campus-based faculty into local areas. The vast majority of the campus personnel would prefer to remain there. Many of the people who can effect institutional change either cannot or will not come to the campus. A large part of the work must be done in the local areas. A final role that the field staff can effectively do is coordinate the total university effort into a meaningful whole for local institutions.

The objectives cannot be accomplished by assigning the work to the present field staff to do in addition to their other chores. The field staff is already fully employed, but this is not the main reason for suggesting they not be asked to take on this additional assignment. Very few are trained for this work and an unqualified person can do more harm than good. I even question whether a very high per cent of the existing staff can be retrained for the work. I think we need to employ people trained for the assignment and put them in the field, usually on a multi-county basis to spend full time at this task. In my own state we have added two types of people to the field staff and they are getting results. One category is called "Community Development Agents." Their main focus is improving group decision making and increasing citizen involvement in decision making and action. The second category is called "Local Government Agents" and their main job is to provide in-service training and consultation to local government. Most of these people, with different backgrounds and training from the traditional Cooperative Extension worker, have also been given extensive pre-service and in-service training and are closely related to academic departments.

There is a final point I make relating to personnel. Universities have tended to overlook a great deal of talent that can be readily available. There are many people in the professions, in business and in government, who are experts in a field and who would make good teachers. They will often volunteer their services for short-time and specific assignments, or will certainly work for a modest fee. This is a means of stretching very scarce resources at a low cost.

The seventh strategy relates to the availability of applied research. The organization of most universities, in conjunction with the trend to more fundamental research, is widening the gap between the research and extension arms. Success in this program requires availability and capability for doing applied and/or action research on short notice in response to Extension needs. This is essential, because there is not a backlog of research information, and many of the specific problems of cities or institutions require what amounts to research to find an answer. Further, the research type approach appeals to many of the target audiences.

The above statements raise questions concerning the location of the research arm within the university. I increasingly believe that this type of research should be done by the same people who do the extension work. They can either have a joint appointment between extension and research units or be assigned entirely to the extension unit. Having the same people responsible for the research and extension work insures responsiveness and it may help recruit and keep top quality personnel for the extension effort.

Three Target Groups

Strategy eight relates to approach. There is some research and lots of experience which give insight into the approach which should be used. The approaches to the three main target groups should be different.

The people in the leadership role respond to three approaches. The first is a consulting approach which helps them with their individual concerns on a personalized basis. It does not have to be a staff member to another individual; it may be a staff member to a board or an entire city government. The second approach is a formalized training program designed to keep the leaders up-to-date with the fast changing times. It is good politics today for a leader to participate in continuing education activities. The third approach is a series of publications similar to those that have been developed for agriculture and home economics.

The approaches with the second public–the people behind the scenes–include consultation on a one-to-one basis and publications. They can also be encouraged to participate in the activities developed for the third target group--the citizenry at large. In working with the people behind the scenes, or the influentials, it is important to remember that they do not want visibility.

About the only feasible approach to use with the citizenry at large is the tried and tested public affairs approach. The major modification I would suggest in the traditional approach is making much greater use of the new communications hardware that is becoming available.

Strategy nine is concerned with the involvement of the publics in program development. The principle of involving those people who will benefit from the educational program in its development is very fundamental. It works with every group. The questions really are, "Who is involved? When, how, and the authority of those involved?".

The people to be involved are those who will participate in the educational activities and who can take the action required to bring about institutional change. One of the traps that Cooperative Extension has tended to fall into is simply involving a group of people. An example is involving a group of farmers to plan a program for the towns. Unless those who are directly affected are involved, forget the whole matter.

On the matter of when, people should be involved in all stages. On the how, I prefer an informal structure, because it is easier to change. Further, it permits involvement of more people. Groups of officials or citizens at large will come together to help plan programs. Most of the involvement of the behind-the-scenes public will have to be done on a one-to-one basis.

The matter of authority becomes extremely sticky. If people are involved, their views must be heard and heeded within bounds. At the same time the final authority must rest with the university. The university cannot become a captive to any group.

Strategy ten relates to the need for a national effort. Universities are basically local institutions and quite properly have guarded their autonomy. At the same time, most of the public universities have indicated a desire and a willingness to play a part in solving national problems. If their efforts are to be conducted efficiently and are to be effective, there needs to be by mutual consent some national coordination.

There are several reasons why a national effort is becoming increasingly appropriate. One relates to Bonnen's concept of the growth in power of national special-purpose organizations. This means that the place where decisions are increasingly being made is at the national level. The decisions made here are influencing the action of the members of the organizations at the local level. A second reason is the development of a national communications system, and the third is the growing role of the federal government in social engineering and in education. A reason of a different order relates to the economy of the operation. Much of the material which relates to institutional change applies in every state. Why should each state go through the torturous process of preparing its own materials? One of the great contributions of the National Farm Policy Conference has been the development of a set of material that could be and has been used in all states.

Strengthen Our Partners

It is easy to state that a national program is needed, but obviously it is difficult to achieve. It can be done, however, if the universities want it. One technique is to strengthen the hands of our federal partners, and our national associations, such as the National Association of State and Land-Grant Universities. A number of efforts are underway across the country for beginning to pool the strengths of institutions within and between states. Most of these have been concerned with graduate study, research and foreign commitments, but they can be equally as effective in the problem solving area.

Strategy eleven is concerned with relations with other groups. There are many individuals and groups who are concerned with institutions and there will be more. The private consultants are one group and the number of individuals and firms consulting in the community-public sector is increasing rapidly. I feel that we work with these consultants just as we have with consultants in the engineering and health field. We provide training for the consultants and as a general rule stay out of the areas of work that they can perform competently.

Another group that is growing in size includes the firms doing research and education for profit. There have been such organizations in research for some time, but there is a rapid increase in the number involved with education. Particularly in the education field, practically all of the funds that have been provided to date are from governmental units. The university cannot be against legitimate private enterprise in any field, but I do feel that the federal government should not give preferred treatment to private business *vis a vis* the universities. As an example, 100 or more per cent overhead seems to be fairly common when the government is dealing with private enterprise in the education field, but it uses a much lower figure with universities. Further, a number of the firms indicate in their proposal to the government that their staff will come from the universities on a consulting basis. This very effectively drains off the capability of the universities to take on the task we are discussing. Several of the firms in the field of education to make a profit are willing to accept the same conditions imposed on the universities with regard to funding and recruit their own staff. They are counting on making a profit where the universities cannot by breaking away from the traditional approaches, particularly with regard to teaching techniques and hardware.

State government is becoming increasingly important with the move to creative federalism, which is giving the states more authority over the use of federal funds. Here the university needs to work with the state government to help it develop expertise and the professionalism necessary to administer effectively the very large amount of federal funds that will come to it.

The twelfth strategy includes three "Thou shalt nots." The first is to avoid the service role–doing things for institutions and people. This was a major concern in Agricultural Extension work three decades ago. It is possible to perform a service role in the community sector as it was in agriculture. The university can write all the letters, do the telephoning and even chauffeur people to meetings. Falling into a service role should be avoided, because once it is started it is as hard to stop as it was to tell a farmer two decades ago that it was not proper to continue culling his chickens.

The second point, and a re-emphasis of a point made earlier, regards the university not becoming captive of any group. This is a real danger; it has happened and it can happen in this area.

The third is not to assume or indicate that we have all the answers. The university will learn as much from work in the field on institutional change as it has to give.

STRATEGIC CHOICES CONFRONTING THE UNIVERSITY IN MEETING THE CHALLENGE

Robert L. Clodius*

It seems to me that underlying this seminar is the notion that universities are reasonably healthy institutions, from which all we need is a commitment to reallocate resources to problem-solving, then use the healthy university to cure a sick society. We drag in a bunch of university administrators, brainwash them a little bit, and they are supposed to dash home and reallocate resources. Well, that's one point of view.

Another point of view is that the university itself is a very sick institution, so heavily engaged in trying to cure itself and trying to survive that it can't solve any problems of anybody else at all; it's even doubtful that it will be able to solve its own problems. Now this point of view would be supported by the statement that the university mirrors the society in which it finds itself. and society is sick. Because society is sick, the university is sick. We live in an exploitive, acquisitive, racist society, and our universities reflect all of those things too.

Now I just look around this audience and there may be some people in the room who have soul, but there is not a black face among you. Does this say anything at all? Will it kind of suggest that a bunch of us are getting together again? I've been getting together with you people for 15 years and I don't see a hell of a lot of improvement in the state of the world and society. I enjoy you all very much; we have good times when we get together. But I don't know what we solve. I think that the subject of the seminar here might well have been on what it takes and what the strategies are to enable the university to survive, particularly our kind of universities.

As Dr. Birenbaum told you yesterday, this historical means of survival for the universities was to build a wall around them. But I take it that the thrust of this seminar is to take to the streets. My own notion, I think, tends to place the proper strategy more in the "theory of games" context, looking for saddlepoints and minimaxes. If the universities are going to survive, it's going to require a lot of internal reform, and we are going to have to reform fast enough to keep the students and junior faculty from tearing the place apart. At the same time we have to keep from going so fast that we are going to be blown up by the public to the right. So here we are at the razor's edge, more or less.

There isn't time to suggest all of the things that have to be done to reform the university, but it seems to me that we must get out of a whole bunch of things that the universities have been in. For example, shouldn't we stop being landlords? Let's sell all of our dorms to Holiday Inn, the nation's largest innkeeper, and let them determine what innkeeper's rules are with respect to conduct in the dormitories. If people smoke pot, engage in sex, watch television and even sleep in the rooms of the nation's largest innkeeper, then they would do it on university campuses too. They are doing it anyway.

Talking about choices, of course, implies alternatives and requires that there are genuine alternatives to be considered. The first group or category of choices I thought we might toss out here would be choices among university goals: what are the things that the university is after? What has it organized its resources to accomplish? Here are some that you see talked about that come out of the experience of all of us. There are people who have said that the university is a big propaganda machine with the goal of producing information in conspiracy with labor, industry and government to maintain our industrial, military complex. You've all heard that. Another kind of charge made about the university

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**Vice President, University of Wisconsin* goal is that it is a factory to produce conformity in political thought, to produce conformity in instruments that can go into the industrial process, and so on. This is close to the university goal sometimes stated that it ought to be a good training school where parents could send their children to get trained for a job. Another view of the university is that it is some kind of giant service station where anybody with a problem pulls in and says, "Fill me up." He gets his windshield washed and his tires checked in the process, and he goes tooling out again to hit the turnpike at seventy miles an hour. Another view I sometimes pick up is that the university is a gigantic babysitter. We are supposed to take all the kids as they come out of high school and sit with them for four years while they get a chance to grow up and take their responsible roles in society. Another one that you all recognize as a university goal is the search for truth. Then the one that has been subject to discussion here is "action" as a university goal.

I don't think we are yet clear as to what we mean by university action. Action has to be defined in terms of whether you want political action, getting university commitment to something loaded with partisan politics, or if you are talking about action in terms of showing somebody how to perform some skills better, or something like that. What you opt for among these university goals depends to some extent on the kind of image that you have about the nature of man. How you look at these things is related to how you look at yourself and how you look at your fellow creatures, and here we recognize that there is not too much agreement. Yesterday some tiny words were spoken about a return to humanistic study as though these would provide insights, peace, tranquility, more insights into ourselves, the search for the good life. Yet when you turn to humanistic studies and begin to inquire about the nature and the image of man, you find nothing but strife, controversy, and attacks one on another. There is the existential image of man and pursuit of that image leads you to certain kinds of policy conclusions. There is the romantic view of man and the rational view of man, each of which has been debated for centuries and on which there is yet no consensus. In recent years we've had a lot of writing on the subject of the image of man as some kind of a cog in a bureaucratic organization. Of course there is the technological image that man is a cog in a machine and not in a complex organization. Then there is the psycho-analytical approach to man as driven primarily by his sex desires. Then there is the biological image of man which is certainly being revived now to a great extent. Maybe you've read "The Territorial Imperative" or "The Naked Ape" and you see another image of man.

Truth Versus Action

I think, as far as this seminar is concerned, that the issue boils down to considerations for the search for truth as a goal for the university versus action as a goal for the university, or some kind of combination of the search for truth and action. Between the two, I'd rather settle for the search for truth and toss out the action side of it, because action implies that the search for truth has come to a conclusion. You're no longer searching; you've found the truth. Having found the truth, you can it into an action program. You go out to save the world or do something else. It implies, then, that we can stop thinking and now we can start acting. This isn't all bad and in many areas we discover many truths. We've certainly discovered truths in the biological areas and in the economic area that have solved many problems for our constituent public. But when you get into the area of political action, it carries with it the danger that, once the university has chosen, then all of the public that relate to the university can also choose up sides. If the wrong side would happen to win, then I think that's the end of your university. In considering this, I was thinking a little bit about the BAE, too, in terms of political action. You know there are some subjects that aren't appropriate for searching to find the truth given the kind of political realities that we face in the United States.

Another category of choice as far as the university is concerned has to do with organization. There has been a great deal of criticism directed at the organizational structure of the university. Let me try my hand at this and see how it strikes you. Universities are organized primarily, as you know, around disciplines, and you have departments relating to those disciplines and organizations of departments into colleges. My own view would be that this is a very natural way. It relates to the way professors have conducted their play over the years because professors play with disciplines. This is where they get their kicks. This is where they get their personal satisfactions. This is where they get the joy of teaching and so on. With the kind of academic freedom that universities have enjoyed, professors play in areas of inquiry and these areas of inquiry get shaped up into disciplines. That's the way it works and here you find the self-renewing feature. If people enjoy what they are doing, they are going to keep on renewing it, storing it, feeding things in, and disciplines develop. I guess I think that's the way it ought to be. It has worked reasonably well. In many of the things that John Gardner has pushed, it's the self-renewing feature that I think is so important. If you let people have academic freedom and if they enjoy what they are doing, they are going to keep renewing it. In the field that is represented by so many of us around the table, the economics of today is not the economics of ten years ago, and certainly not of a quarter of a century ago, so the self-renewing feature is what seems to me to be important about the organization of the universities around disciplines.

This doesn't mean to say that this is the only way in which universities function, because we do have organizational structures that relate to problems. There are mission-oriented structures inside universities, too. We tend to call these the centers and institutes and, to pick an example outside our own field, you'd find many programs in university medical schools which are related to categories of disease. Their whole orientation is to the solution of a particular disease or problem. These categorically disease-related, problem-solving, mission-oriented parts of our institutions function in harmony along with the traditional academic disciplines.

Here then I wonder if we couldn't look at some new structures. All of us are familiar with the land-grant college. Now the sea-grant college has come into being. Clark Kerr has talked about the urban-grant college. I wonder if we're to the place where we ought to be talking about a service-grant college. Now we do have the Federal Technical Services Act which has some analogy to the earlier legislation relating to agriculture. If we had a service-grant college, this way of thinking might help us take a fresh look at our traditional extension services–university extension service, co-op extension service. Universities around the country have been horsing around with these things and trying to merge them and what not with varying degrees of success, but maybe the service-grant college provides another way of looking at it. We would think about this in terms of a group of people with academic excellence who have an exclusive dedication to service. Maybe we ought to toss out the idea of the tripartite department where we have scholars trying to take the responsibility also for service programs. They haven't done so very well in the past. Maybe we ought to give up and develop a cadre of dedicated people in the field of service.

People with Problems

We might organize this one, not around disciplines, even though we did at Wisconsin, but around people with problems. We do have a School for Workers in University Extension at Wisconsin, and it comes in for a lot of criticism because it teaches workers how to take advantage of managers in the game of collective bargaining. Management just thinks that's terrible. But we also have a school for management which teaches management how to win over the workers, so I think there is a fair balance. We also have a school for bankers every summer, and we have something else that I think might be even more relevant. It's not in Extension but it probably should be, and it could certainly be a part of the service-grant college. That is a center for disputes settlement, in other words it focuses on a functional kind of problem that is a very real one in our society. A center for disputes settlement could look at traditional labor-management problems; it could look at the problems of students in confrontation with the faculty and administrators. In other words, it could look at all of the kinds of problems and issues where people are in conflict. It could look at the conflict between tenants and landlords, whether in slum areas or in other places.

The suggestion here would be that we stop stalling and really develop an independent, autonomous college, oriented to the service function and make this a part of the university. There is one issue in here that you probably all have recognized, and that is the issue of how this college functions, namely teaching and demonstration versus informing and agitation. Here you get into the philosophy of how to conduct extension programs and what this is or should be within the university. My personal inclination is that extension should educate and not put on demonstrations. Here I come into a little bit of dispute with some of my colleagues who think that one of the major roles of extension is to inform and agitate, in other words to bring about confrontation. It fits a little bit into the existentialist image of man that to confront is good and getting people eyeball to eyeball is itself good exercise, and something good must come out of it. I'm still somewhat dubious, but maybe there is a role for both of these in our new service-grant college, a role of agitating, sensitizing and informing; the role of education and demonstration.

Another set of choices that confronts a university in this business has to do with choices among sources of funding. Nobody's really talked directly about this except some naughty words about FTE. After all, this is a way of getting money, and you never look a gift horse in the mouth, so it is said. If there are alternative ways to be considered, one of these is the FTE. I don't know of a better way to get money out of any public funding agency than to talk about the work load you're carrying. The purpose of the university is to teach students. Is there something wrong with counting these students so that if you get 1,000 more students you can ask for more dollars in order to teach them? What's so sinful about that? If in the extension program of the university you expect that you're going to be working with 10% more people than you do this year, what's wrong with asking for money to handle this 10% larger work load?

I think the criticism is that most of the new money that universities have gotten in the last decade has been to teach students, and so our money has been FTE money. Now if the university is socially conscious of all the problems of society and wants to work on these problems, but the only new money you get is to teach additional students, you get some qualms about diverting money from new students to social action programs. Another source of funding, or rationale for funding, is to meet state or national manpower needs. You need more doctors, you need more social workers, you need more x, y, and z. And so you make a direct appeal, not on an abstract FTE basis, but an appeal to increase the size of your medical class from 100 to 125, or to expand the number of social workers. This is pretty good rationale. Society has these needs, and you ask a public agency for funds to meet these needs.

Then we come down to the last one, which is the stickiest one of all–funds to support extension programs, funds to support service programs. Here I guess while I'm not desperate yet and don't despair completely, I must say it has been terribly difficult in my experience to try to get money for service and action programs out of reluctant legislatures. It comes easier from the federal establishment than it does from the in-state establishment. You can get some funds to teach additional students through extension, but here you are back on the FTE basis again. For continuing education programs, again a tough one, we've been whittled back to where the person benefiting has to pay two-thirds of the cost of the program, and the state pays one-third of it. Dr. McCorkle was just telling me that in California extension was wiped out in terms of state support. It's totally self-supporting in its continuing education function.

Then when you come right down to the action program, I don't find anybody within the state who is very excited about putting public funds into social action, at least as carried forth by extension. This makes me a little bit cynical when I look at the billions of public funds that are spent for other things. In my view and in the interest-group view, all of education is terribly underfunded in this country. I don't know any university that isn't underfunded. You can start with the richest one and work down. Yet we blast off a rocket and it goes haywire, so we lose $100,000,000 and we say, "Gee, that was tough. Bad show. We lost a hundred million bucks." Well, $100,000,000 could do an awful lot if it were distributed to the universities represented in this room. For some reason or other the social program, and I include higher education as a social program, just hasn't caught fire. Research has caught a little bit of fire, but disaffection is setting in. The only thing that seems really to catch high public priority is fighting Communism. There have been millions of dollars spent to fight Communism and, if you can get your program changed around so that you are fighting Communism, you can get supported, but for some cause like higher education there just isn't any money.

Kinds of Choices

When we come to the question of choices for university development, here are the kinds of choices that I wrote down. One choice is to get out of action completely. Don't accept this challenge that has been presented by this seminar. Just tell all these good people who've invited us, "Take your old challenge and go back where you came from. It's not for universities. We've got enough problems. We're fighting to survive and, thank you, we'll stay behind the wall. As a matter of fact, we're going to build the wall higher and thicker, and our mode of survival is going to be 'fire and fall back.' And that may be the only way in which we are able to survive."

Another choice is to continue our present development in universities, whatever this may be. Another alternative is, of course, to reorganize drastically; tear the wall down as Dr. Birenbaum so dramatically presented it yesterday on the blackboard. Take to the streets. Then the fourth alternative is some kind of mixture of the above. I guess this is where I come out. I don't believe that everything presently going on in universities is good, true and beautiful, including my own institution, but I guess I'm not ready to tear down the walls and take to the streets.

We need probably a more refined look. There may be some areas of the university which want to strengthen the wall, to build it higher and thicker. But there may be other parts of the university where we want to tear the walls down. What I'm suggesting is an analysis of the university in which you segment it so that each part is optimally suited for taking on whatever its area of responsibility and challenge is. I guess if you look at a university organization that has a college of service, a service-grant college, there shouldn't be much of a wall around this one. Here is where you want people to be out in the streets. Other parts of the university, I think, need to have a high wall around them. Otherwise conservative forces would long ago have purged our universities of some of our most valued people.

Just to give a safe example, years ago there was some question in the state of Wisconsin about maintenance of an elaborate department of astronomy. Now don't ask me how we got a department of astronomy, but anyway the university had one and this is an expensive business. The question was being asked in the legislature, what kinds of problems do you solve with astronomy? How does it help the income of the Wisconsin dairy farmer? Well, it's kind of remote, but you come to the fact that astronomy is one of the most practical and applied subjects we teach in the university today. Out of the knowledge generated by such departments of astronomy came much of the basis for this massive commitment to exploration of space. You have to have some walls in universities; you just can't tear them down, but again they ought to be selective walls. Some of the walls ought to be porous so that you can filter material back and forth through the wall. Some walls ought to be semi-permeable membranes, so that substances can go one way and can't go the other way.

There is another point of view that I toss in here at the end, that the whole subject we are discussing is idle and academic, because there are no choices available to the university. You find in some writeups and speeches that the university is a slave, that it is the slave of the Establishment, that the university is locked into the kind of society that we have. One can spin this out in great detail and find evidence to support this view. I toss it out here to ask you if it has any validity.

Finally we come down to the ultimate question, and that relates to the theory of choice. If a choice is to be rational, then there must be some goals established, and the gut issue is who has sovereignty in this matter of choice? Now my fellow economists know that the consumer has this role in an enterprise-price economy. Consumer sovereignty, with all of its problems, is pretty effective in determining the allocation of resources: how they are allocated, who gets them, and so on. But the question here is who serves the sovereign role in the kind of society in which we live? In a socialist state it's pretty clear the central planning board and the ministry of education have this role. But in our kind of society who is sovereign with respect to the use of resources in universities? In the state of California it's Governor Reagan. In other states it's the legislature. In some other places it might be the alumni. In other places it might be the regents or trustees. In other places it might be the administration. The faculty thinks it's the administration oftentimes. It might be the senior faculty of the university that is sovereign which gripes the junior faculty. They feel that they are disenfranchised in many of the higher councils of government of the university. What's the role of students in sovereignty relating to the allocation of university resources? Finally where do the parents get into the act? So here you see I've trotted out nine identifiable individuals or groups that have something to say about the conduct of the university, something to say about the allocation of resources to the university, and . ask you who is sovereign? Who sets the guidelines by which we allocate rationally these scarce resources available to the university? In the absence of the identifiable sovereign, or sovereignty, in setting the guidelines, then how's the job going to get done?

SECOND THOUGHTS

Participants at the Seminar reported in this publication were asked to write their concerns about the subject after they had time to give it further thought. Four had after-Conference ideas that are included here as major contributions to a discussion of the problem under consideration.

PURSUIT OF TRUTH

The role of the university in the transformation of social and political institutions should be as a resource rather than as an activist, in my opinion. This opinion refers to the university as an institution, not to the roles of its individual faculty members in their areas of professional competence nor to the roles of individual faculty members and students as citizens.

Universities have as their principal purposes continuing search for truth and dissemination of information. They are both centers of learning and learning centers. Freedom in inquiry and freedom of expression are essential to maximum productivity of universities. Search for truth requires diverse competence, location, methods and facilities. Some truth can be acquired only by direct experience. Pursuit of truth about inter-personal relationships, emotion, and sensation require situations in which the observer is a participant as well as situations in which he is a non-participant observer. Some truth can be acquired only by human experiment, some aspects of medicine and human behavior, for example. Some truth continues to be sought by the adversary system. Morals, law, politics involve the development, expression, and acceptance of enforcement of judgments and concensus based on opinions, values, and facts.

Since the university depends on public support, its means may be affected by the opinion of the public as to the responsibility exercised by the university, its faculty, and its students in their search for truth and their expression of information and opinion. The public and the people associated with the university are likely to continue to have diverse opinions as to relevance, necessity, usefulness, and propriety of faculty and student activities, individual and collective, both on campus and in the community.

Every university is in fact a hierarchical system with vertical layers of status and authority and horizontal segregation into groups and disciplines. The university as an institution tends to wall itself away from the community. Mobility and communication among the hierarchies and the segments within the university tend to be minimal too. Values and behavior tend to depend too narrowly on judgments of peer groups–within disciplines on the part of the faculty, within student groups on the part of the students, though a majority of both faculty and students are sensitive to values and judgments of the community in which they live.

There should be planned mobility, vertical and horizontal, within the university and among the university and other sectors–industry, government, labor, foreign. Only in this way can hierarchical hardening and inflexible institutionalization be avoided. Mobility–a two-way mobility–seems to me to be much preferred over vicarious identification of faculty with student and other activist groups under the protective cloak of the university. The principle of freedom to participate, by students and faculty, in planning, policy formation, goal selection, and decision making in the university should be accepted. Within established policies, day-to-day operations should not be subjected to interference or interruption by student groups or absent professors. The university ought to develop procedures for resolution of grievances which include peer judgments of both students and society which, hopefully, might minimize such interference and interruptions.

In my opinion, the university as an institution should limit its role in social change to collection and dissemination of information and the opportunity for its students and faculty to participate as individuals in community affairs. Students and faculty members are citizens; they should exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens subject only to the constraints imposed by law. The fact of their association with the university should not be exploited to the detriment of the university.

There is, however, a very special aspect of the search for truth requiring direct participation by students or faculty. The existence of left or right extremist groups on campus, the presence on faculty of extremist professors or guest lecturers concerns the public. Proper concern should be limited to the actual behavior of such individuals and groups, not to their right to exist. Again, in my opinion, their right to exist should be assured, as it is by our Constitution, by the university. Their activities should be lawful, guaranteed due process, subject to prosecution for unlawful acts but not to persecution.

Professors acting within their area of professional competence should be supported by the university in their obligation to pursue truth through participation in community affairs. Development and adaptation of institutions and services in disadvantaged areas sometimes require, is often facilitated by, participation of professionally competent faculty members. Activities of this sort seem to me to be different from the equally important participation of faculty members as citizens in affairs quite outside their areas of professional competence. Here, they should act as citizens, not as professors. They should act responsibly. The price of freedom is responsibility.

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BUREAUCRACY OUT OF CONTROL

I was pleased with the stress placed by the seminar on urban problems. It is fitting that the land-grant universities, experienced as they are in trying to cope with agricultural and rural problems, should now consciously address themselves to the problems of the emergent and largely urban society. Of course, universities are now enmeshed in arrangements with government and business.[1] All the more reason that the university should now explicitly ask itself what its function is in the contemporary social and political turmoil.

I urge that the seminar report also emphasize another focus which got virtually no attention in the meeting. Clearly, the political institutions in the United States are in disarray and the malaise is centered in Washington, D.C. The President has an unbridled and dangerous initiative in foreign and military affairs; in contrast, he is so confined in domestic affairs that the development and execution of effective and coherent domestic policy is frequently frustrated.[2]

Once domestic policy is initiated and fleshed out in an administering bureaucracy, both policy and bureaucracy tend to break out of political control from any source and to become virtually autonomous. I must stress that the conception "bureaucracy out of control" refers not only to bureaucracy alone but also to policy and more particularly to the link between bureaucracy and certain strategic congressmen and frequently interested groups which, together, make up the virtually autonomous forces.

The failure of political control stems from our constitutional separation of powers: the President whose hand is first strengthened by the emergence of new policy and new bureaucracies tries to control them by coordinating, orchestrating, and synthesizing their activities through the Bureau of the Budget and other centralizing agencies. Congress or rather the strategic centers of power in Congress are constrained to try to wrest control away from the President and exercise it themselves in the only way they can, namely, by dividing up the policies and bureaucracies and parceling them out among Congressional leaders in the committees. In the struggle between Congress and the President, bureaucracies and policy escape control.[3] The most significant example of bureaucracy-out-of-control is in the military. There is much evidence from the Bay of Pigs to Vietnam of military take-overs of policy-making on the most important issues.[4] It should also be of interest to scholars whose roots are largely in agriculture and agricultural policy that agricultural policy also illustrates the tendency, as does water policy.[5]

Another important political problem arises out of the malfunctioning of public opinion. The rule of public opinion has long been taken for granted in the United States. The constitution begins, "We, the people of the United States..." and our whole representative theory rests on the proposition that the people shall rule. But popular rule encounters increasing turbulence.

[1] *James Ridgeway, "Universities as Big Business," Harper's Magazine, September, 1968 (see his forthcoming The Closed Corporation: American Universities in Crisis, New York, Random House, 1968).*

[2] *Richard E. Neustadt, "Presidential Power."*

[3] *Richard E. Neustadt, "Politicians and Bureaucrats" in David B. Truman, ed., The Congress in America's Future (New York: 1965).*

[4] *See, among a long list of references, Sorenson, "Kennedy"; Schlesinger, "One Thousand Days"; Roger Hilsman, "To Awaken A Nation"; David Kraslow and Stuart A. Loory, "The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam" (N. Y., Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); Eugene McCarthy, "The Limits of Power."*

[5] *For agricultural policy, see Charles M. Hardin, "Food and Fiber in the Nation's Politics" (National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber, Washington, D. C., 1967) and for water policy, see Arthur Maass, "Muddy Waters" (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950).*

The turbulence arises out of a contradiction between theory and practice. In theory both the President and the people individually and at large are responsible for the general welfare. But in both theory and practice the group politics of the United States is different. The politics of group interest has been brought to its highest pitch in the United States. Its high development has been fostered by our political institutions and also encouraged by our leading political theory. Every conceivable interest in the United States is facilitated in organization and is prompted by theory to press as hard as it can to achieve its special interest without regard for the interests of any other group, organization, or individual. Only the President and the public stand above the battle of political interests. Thus there is a link between the President, who has a special obligation to seek and serve the general welfare, and every individual citizen who makes up the public at large who is also enjoined to seek and serve the general welfare. Both the President and the people at large are supposed to take their perspective on all problems with the view toward serving the great and aggregate interests of the country at large. Thus the pollsters repeatedly canvass popular opinion on the most difficult issues of government and faithfully report it.

The result is profound frustration. In foreign affairs, where the Executive has great power at least of initiative, the general public is supposed to articulate a controlling opinion but is without experience or grasp of the issues except in their most general terms. And yet the public is carried along by the President and individually shares whatever intoxicating triumphs and bitter failures his foreign and military policy experiences. At the same time, as already noted, the Executive is hamstrung in trying to deal effectively with domestic problems. And again the public somehow shares both his responsibility-without-power and also his nagging frustrations.

In consequence we have a relationship between President and public which seems to move between two extremes. Success nourishes a devotion and an identification that approaches idolatry. I refer to the public esteem for Eisenhower and at least posthumously for John F. Kennedy. In many ways F.D. Roosevelt, despite the Roosevelt haters, enjoyed a similar and highly emotional appeal to the people at large. Alternatively, we have seen twice now the emergence of a public scorn and contempt that verges on hatred for the occupant of the Presidency. I refer to attitudes toward President Truman in 1952 as well as those held toward President Johnson in 1968. And I am saying that we need a thorough appraisal both of the operative political ideals and the political institutions which induce this malfunctioning of public opinion.

In addition to the foregoing, a number of more obvious political difficulties emerge at the national level. Foremost among these in its claim on popular attention, momentarily at least, is the electoral college. In 1968 a very small shift in the popular vote in a few states could have forced the election into the House of Representatives. Having escaped this difficulty, we still find ourselves with a Republican President, apparently elected with the narrowest of pluralities but still a minority of the popular vote, confronting a Congress in which both Houses are at least nominally Democratic. If we think back to the situation in late 1964 and 1965 before the debacle of Vietnam, we can observe the contrast. Then, menacing as was the prospect of racial strife, we could still have a degree of optimism arising out of the major support acquired by the incoming government and the majorities in both houses of Congress. Since then, the cost of the loss of leadership and of the disintegration of both the American purpose and American political institutions is staggering.

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COLLEGES OF RURAL-URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

In contemporary urbanized[1] American society, colleges of agriculture have an opportunity to serve in three major roles or missions. These are: (1) food and fiber production; (2) human resources or people needs in the rural-urban environments; and (3) international agriculture.[2] The first of these is a tradition of slightly more than 100 years. It has proliferated into often highly effective teaching, research, and extension. Food for Americans in abundance of quantity and quality stands as its record of success.

The next two mission roles are relatively new. It is the purpose of this paper to consider only the human resource opportunities. The rights, integrity, dignity, and needs of people are matters of prime ideology in American society. Yet the record shows we have achieved higher materialism than quality of life. We are a society which juxtaposes the highest caloric intake with the largest slums. We are a society with scientific agriculture and mass rural poverty. We are a society with more knowledge of production ecology than of social ecology. We are a society with more knowledge of grapevines and pigs than of rural workers and outdoor recreationists.

In urbanized America there are now more diverse peoples using rural lands than ever before. The prospects and problems of land use have never been greater. In addition to production concerns, colleges of agriculture have major opportunities in their second century to be the dynamic leaders of people in all their activities in outdoor America.

In order to mount the massive and dynamic human resource programs that are needed, selected colleges of agriculture will have to appoint associate deans for human resources. These should be line, not staff, positions. They should have responsibility for coordinating human resource program leadership in teaching, research, and extension.

Human resource deans in colleges of agriculture should be organized into regional and national associations. Their combined programs should represent a national effort in rural-oriented human resources. Subject matter centers of focus and of excellence should be designated to maximize resource use. There should be human resource programs in: (1) occupations and agribusiness manpower, (2) outdoor recreation, (3) multi-governmental relationships, (4) education, (5) rural-urban relationships, (6) social problems. These major human resource program areas should become the subjects of centers of excellence, with each college identifying only one area for its work.

To gain further efficiency in use of limited financial and scientist man-year resources, consortium organizations should be developed among the colleges. This would enable one college to take major leadership in a region for one area of human resource work. Faculty and advanced students from other colleges in the region, working on the designated human resource problem, should have an opportunity to design their work in cooperation with the college which develops as a center of excellence in the subject. This will foster the creating of strong critical masses of scholars to bring real strength in the problem areas.

[1] ***Lee Taylor and Authur R. Jones, Jr. "Rural Life and Urbanized Society" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), and Lee Taylor, "Urban-Rural Problems" (Los Angeles: Dickenson Publishing Co. 1968).***

[2] ***Lee Taylor, "The Changing Roles of the Colleges of Agriculture." Proceedings: Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1968, and Lee Taylor, "Human Resource Research: A Plan for Excellence and Action," paper read for Cooperative State Research Service, U.S.D.A., staff meeting, Washington, D. C., February 21, 1968.***

Finally, with this addition of a major human resource emphasis the institutions in effect become Colleges of Rural-Urban Environments. An appropriate name change of this type will further enable these strong colleges of the past to become strong colleges of the future.

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COMMUNITY AS A CLIENT GROUP

(The following are excerpts taken from a paper "Contemporary Society and Extension Education," written by Dean Verhaalen for the Research and Reprint Series of West Virginia University.)

. . . . This, then, is the premise: a society develops its own traditions and its own cultures. Those traditions and those cultures are susceptible to change and can be educationally influenced. Orderly revolutions occur to provide for systematic progress within a democratic society. An extension educator must first understand the society and its traditions; secondly become empathic with it; and thirdly, recognize that man himself, within that society, remakes the tradition of the culture. . . .

. . . . Extension programming for structural change. The concept is a simple one but the implementation of it is complex. The concept is this: learning or behavioral change can occur both in individuals and in groupings of individuals. The problems of any society and, especially those of contemporary American Society, are group behavioral change problems. Thus, extension must program simultaneously for both behavioral change in individuals (the old method) and also for behavioral change in such societal group units as communities, institutions, agencies, and other structures of the society (the new method). It must program for both individual learning and group learning, for both individual change and structural change, if it is to have impact on both the individual and the group decision makers of that society. . . .

Three concepts or premises are basic to effective performance as university structural change agents. Each has a social science orientation:

(1) extension is in itself an organizational or social system in which staff morale, the problem-solving processes, the lessening of hierarchical superstructure, open communication, the managerial function, interpersonal interaction, flexible professional operating norms, and group sensitivity must be significant concerns.

(2) the second premise is that some of extension's clients will increasingly be seen as groups, organizations, and communities rather than as individual learners per se. Common interest groups, social environments or political environments will then become extension targets and the media for change, learning, and development. It is in those environments where a major part of extension's future educational role will become most meaningful.

(3) extension's self-image will gradually shift from that of class organizer or agricultural community leader to that of high level technical subject matter consultant on the one hand and to that of problem-solving educator and partner in change on the other. As the self-image changes extension will, for the latter role, seek out theories of applied behavioral science and of clinical applied psychology to enhance the process of group decision making.

Certain concepts, then, will become meaningful to the structural change role. Some of those concepts will be entirely foreign to extension's prior role. Most of the concepts will have their roots in the social and behavioral sciences. They are:

(1) the concept of community as a client group (that identifiable leadership group which is relevant to the decision making required for accomplishing a common group action);

(2) the concept of demographic inputs; determining the cause and effect relationship of various demographic input factors on a community decision will be important to you;

(3) the third concept will be that of leadership and power; the issue here, of course, is who has the most influence in community decision making and in the process of community or political or social or cultural action. Two models of community leadership and power are usually evident: the elitist where a single group controls or the pluralistic where different groups are involved cooperatively and competitively. Whether extension works with the existing leadership or outside of it by creating new leadership will always continue to be a vexing problem of extension;

(4) the fourth theme is the concept of change. The only constant in today's society is the rapidity with which change and new knowledge occurs. And that concept recognizes the interplay between traditional or local norms and national or mass cultural systems and norms. Involved in problem solving or structural change programs will be the necessity to promote some mass or national cultural norms but at a price to the local or state community norms. This is a fact that extension will find difficult to accept and to rationalize.

The concept of change also recognizes the need to know change models. Somewhere, somehow, extension and the university must be able to predict with accuracy the results of applying certain change models, if the models are to be scientifically used by extension.

(5) lastly, let me recognize the emotional concept of social-psychological themes or local value norms. Any extension agency must be able to objectively suggest ways of blending these with the larger national mass cultural norms if it is to serve as an effective educational participant in the society . . . .

Let me say that I have no program panacea for adventuresome continuing education or "cooperative" extension workers. Yet, cognizance of the concept that groups of decision makers can experience behavioral change or learning, just as individuals can learn and have behavioral change, may provide for extension certain hypotheses on which to base a new blend of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research, teaching, and off-campus work which can make the modern university and its public services more relevant to the problems of contemporary society.

Individual change and adjustment is an important educational responsibility, but not to the exclusion of programming for group change and adjustment. If extension finds the implementation of such programming effort complex, it may take solace in the following quotation:

"It is a paradox that as decision makers become more realistically aware of their decisions, they at the same time feel more incompetent and more impotent in the level of the educational contribution they can make."

Most people have the frustrating knowledge that they know too much to be comfortable and too little to be of any real help. Yet, it is in the realm of complex problem-solving educational activity that both the universtiy and extension can make another major contribution to the changing structures of the American society . . . .

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